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LONDINIANA.

D. Sidney, Northumberland Street, Strand.







# LONDINVM ANTIQVA

This PLAN shows the ancient extent of the famous Cities of LONDON and WESTMINSTER as it was near the beginning of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth Radolphus Aggas in his Chronicle Antiqua published AD 1578 says Near ten years past the Author made a sketch whether to print or lay this Work aside Until he first had LONDINVM plotted out These following Buildings were not erected when this Plan was taken The Watermill Banqueting House the 1<sup>st</sup> Building was of Timber The Royal Exchange not built before 1570 New Fichls not divided nor planted Lambeth Conduit on Snow hill about 1580 Royal Palace raised so all the date of Lond Plan Anno 1603.

- |                      |                 |                      |                     |                         |
|----------------------|-----------------|----------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| A. St. Mary's Church | E. Palace Gates | I. St. Mary's Church | N. Strand Bridge    | R. Wall along the River |
| B. Fountain          | F. Gates        | K. Spring Garden     | O. St. Dunstons     | S. Snow hill            |
| C. Clock Tower       | G. Clock Pit    | L. St. Martins       | P. Temple Gate      | T. Smithfield           |
| D. Parliament Hall   | W. Queens Gate  | M. St. Giles's       | Q. Bridewell Palace | V. V. City Walls        |

- ## References.
- |                         |                             |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|
| W. Charter House        | L. St. Mary's Church        |
| X. Clerken Well         | T. St. Pauls                |
| Y. Durham Croft         | A. Battle Bridge            |
| Z. Spittle Field        | L. Winchester Pl.           |
| a. Minorities Croft     | m. Shakspeare Playh.        |
| b. Tower Hill Pastern   | n. Bull Baiting             |
| c. St. Katherine's Gate | o. Paris Garden             |
| d. East Minster         | p. Arch. Dr. Palace         |
| e. Tower Bridge         | q. Lambeth Church and Marsh |
| f. London Bridge        | r. St. Katherine's Ch.      |
| g. Monach House         |                             |

CIVITAS LONDINVM A.D. CIRCVTDLX.

The Hurr Edw<sup>d</sup> Chance & Co London



LONDINIANA;  
OR,  
Reminiscences  
OF THE  
BRITISH METROPOLIS:  
INCLUDING  
CHARACTERISTIC SKETCHES,  
ANTIQUARIAN, TOPOGRAPHICAL, DESCRIPTIVE,  
AND LITERARY.

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BY  
EDWARD WEDLAKE BRAYLEY,

F.A.S. M.R.S.L. &c. &c.

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“ The Waies through which my weary steps I guyde,  
[In this RESEARCHE of old ANTIQUITIE,]  
Are so exceeding riche and long, and wyde,  
And sprinkled with such sweet Varietie  
Of all that pleasant is to Eare or Eye,  
That I, nigh ravisht with rare Thought's Delight,  
My tedious TRAVEL quite forgot thereby;  
And when I gin to feele decay of might,  
It strength to me supplies and cheers my dulled Spright.”

*Spenser's Faerie Queene.*

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## PREFACE.

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IN the long succession of ages which have elapsed since LONDON first became celebrated under Roman domination, it has been the theatre of the most important transactions in which man can be engaged, and every passion of the heart, whether of good or evil, has been unfolded and exemplified within its range. Its present greatness has been attained by progressive steps, in which the skill, the valour, and the industry, of its inhabitants have been pre-eminently exhibited; and although its growth has, at times, been checked by calamity, and its influence thwarted by war and faction, yet, to employ the boldly-figurative language of Southey, it has long been

“ The *Seat* where ENGLAND, from her ancient reign,  
Doth rule the *Ocean* as her own domain!”

When we contemplate the almost inexhaustible nature of the subject, and the multifarious variety of circumstances connected with it, the appearance of a new publication upon this Capital can hardly excite surprise; and although the existing works

are both voluminous and abundant, it is trusted that there is still room for an effective circulation of '*Londiniana*.'

In the general design of this work, diversity of information, and accuracy in the details, have been the leading objects. No particular classification, or arrangement, has been observed, and none was intended. Subjects of antiquarian and historical research, are mingled with the lighter graces of poetry, and the severity of local description is interwoven with sketches of biography and manners, traits of character, and personal anecdote. Let it, however, be recollected, that the main feature of this undertaking, is to illustrate the *Topography* of the Metropolis as it existed in former times; yet still continuing its history to the present day, whenever the place or object noticed appeared to be deserving of that regard.

The extent of reading and inquiry essential to the production of this work, has been far from inconsiderable. Several hundred volumes, (both printed and manuscript,) have been consulted, much personal labour endured, and every practicable endeavour exercised to obtain authentic and genuine information. With its lighter details, are involved many subjects of antiquarian interest and elaborate research; yet, even in the latter respect, that succinct and perspicuous language has been employed



which, it is hoped, will afford instruction and pleasure to every one. *Verbatim* copies of several rare *Tracts* have, also, been given, either in illustration of the manners of the Londoners, or of particular events which have taken place within the Capital. Fitz-Stephen's "Account of London" in Henry the Second's time, "Bartholomew Fair," and Prynne's "Retractation" may be referred to as instances.

The engravings are of a mixed description, yet, in this particular, apology is hardly requisite, as it was intended that the work should be rendered popular from its cheapness as well as from its character. But that inferiority refers, principally, to those prints which have been copied from Strype's *Stow*, and were selected to shew the state of our Metropolitan buildings as they existed in the early part of the last century; and it will be found, on comparing them, that the general style of every copy is correspondent with that of its original. The subjects and plans introduced from more finished engravings, or taken from drawings, are executed in a superior manner. Many of the latter exhibit objects of great curiosity and interest.

It is scarcely necessary to remark, that, in the secondary title, the word "*Reminiscences*" has been used in a much greater latitude of meaning than it generally denotes; yet, without referring to the

extensive application of the "*Reminiscor*" of the Latins, its proper etymon, it may be stated, that no other phrase occurred to the author that would so appropriately indicate the miscellaneous nature of his work.

Should the present attempt prove successful, it is the author's intention shortly to proceed with a new Series of *Londiniana*, for which much information has been obtained, and many subjects of antiquarian and topographical curiosity have been selected for engraving.

EDWARD WEDLAKE BRAYLEY.

RUSSELL INSTITUTION,  
November 20th, 1828.

# ANALYTICAL TABLE

OF

## CONTENTS.

### VOL. I.

	Page.
<i>Origin of London</i> . . . . .	1-9
Remote Antiquity of London...Said to have been founded by Brute, and called <i>Troy-novant</i> , or New Troy...Presumed to be a City of the <i>Trinobantes</i> ...Its Walls and Fortifications attributed to King Lud...Arguments to prove it a British City...Error of Ptolemy and Dr. Gale in placing <i>Londinium</i> on the south side of the Thames...Embankment of the River Thames by the Romans.	
<i>Etymology of the name of London</i> . . . . .	9-11
Origin of the name uncertain...called by Tacitus <i>Londinium</i> and <i>Colonia Augusta</i> ...Its various appellations, <i>Llyn-Dyn</i> , or the "Town on the Lake"...Origin of the name <i>Augusta</i> .	
<i>London in the Roman times</i> . . . . .	11-13
Mention of London by Tacitus...Great mart of trade and commerce...Vengeance taken by the Iceni, under Boadicea...London not surrounded by walls in the time of Suetonius...Greatly resorted to by merchants...The residence of the Vicar of Britain.	

- Walls of London* . . . . . 13-16  
 Built by the Romans...City walls erected by Helena, about the year 306...Said by Camden to have been built by Constantine...Maitland ascribes them to Theodosius...Direct course of the walls...Their defences, height, &c...Manner in which the walls were built...The tiles of the kind called *Sesquipedales*...Roman Antiquities found.
- London Stone; a Roman Milliarium* . . . . . 17-21  
 Stands against St. Swithin's Church, in Cannon Street ...Regarded with superstitious zeal...Description of London Stone, by Stow...Misquoting of Fabian by various historians...Mentioned by Holinshed, in connexion with Jack Cade...Considered as the Milliarium Aureum of Britain...Mutilated after the Great Fire...Its present state and situation.
- Roman Antiquities in Lombard Street* . . . . . 21-25  
 Coins, tessellated pavements, &c. discovered in digging for a sewer...Account of them as given in the "Archæologia" ... Roman pottery and Samian ware...Gold coins of Galba, Nero, and Antoninus Pius...A silver one of Alexander Severus...Several brass ones of other Emperors...Nuremburg Counters and Coins of Elizabeth discovered.
- Roman Tessellated Pavements* . . . . . 25-29  
 Discoveries made after the Great Fire...Tessellated pavement found in Leadenhall Street...Description of the same by Thos. Fisher, Esq....Deposited in the Library of the East India Company...Another found in Lothbury, and presented to the British Museum...Other pavements in various parts.
- British and Roman Cemeteries in and near London* . . . . . 29-36  
 Sepulchral usages of our British and Roman ancestors...Laws of the Twelve Tables...Discoveries made in the time of Queen Elizabeth in Spital Fields, as urns, coins, pottery, glass, penates, &c.

...Other discoveries in the reign of James the First...Roman ossuary of glass found in Spital Fields...Cemetery in Sun Tavern Fields, Shadwell ...Another at St. Paul's, discovered by Sir Christopher Wren, and described in the "Parentalia." Antiquities found at Bishopsgate Church, and also a Roman grave, constructed with large tiles.

*Roman Camps and Fortresses* . . . . . 36-40

The Prætorian Camp at St. Paul's...Sepulchral memorial of a Roman soldier...Vestiges of Roman sculpture near Ludgate...Roman Fort on the site of the Tower...A Roman ingot and coins found there...Origin of Barbican...Ancient Camp near Islington...Summer Camp at Highbury...Encampment at Pancras, called the Brill.

*Roman Temples of Diana and Apollo* . . . . . 40-43

Supposed Roman Temple on the site of St. Paul's Cathedral...Opinion of Sir Christopher Wren on the subject...Brass figure of Diana...Temple of Jupiter...Buck's Head borne before the Procession of Paul's.

*Roman Roads near London* . . . . . 44-47

Watling, or Gathelin Street...Oxford Road...Old Street...New-gate, originally called Chamberlain's Gate...The Arx Palatina...Roman Forum.

*London in the Saxon and Danish times* . . . . . 47-57

Hengist obtains possession of London ..Mordred crowned there about the year 532...St. Paul's Cathedral founded by Ethelbert...London ravaged by a plague in 664. Several great fires...Palace of Athelston...A Wittenagemot convoked by Edmund the First...London assaulted by the Danes...Dane-gelt...The Londoners open their gates to the Danes...Sweyn proclaimed King of England ...Ethelred recalled...London besieged by Canute, who cuts a trench through the marshes of Kent

and Surrey to bring up his ships above London Bridge...Presumed course of the trench...Assassination of Edmund Ironside by Edric Streon, and execution of the latter...The crown awarded to Canute at a general council in London...Edward the Confessor erects a palace at Westminster, and rebuilds the Abbey Church. William the Norman crowned at Westminster.

*Charter granted to the City by William the Conqueror* 57-58

Copy of the Charter from the original among the City archives.

*Omission of London in the Doomsday Book* . . . 58-59

Vineyard in Holborn...Land near Bishopsgate.

*Memoir of William Fitz-Stephen.—Description of the City of London in Henry the Second's reign* . . . 59-80

Memoir of Fitz-Stephen; his excellent learning and offices...His "*Vita Sancta Thomæ*," and "Description of the most noble City of London." ...General particulars of London...Its Castles, Walls, Towers, and royal Palaces ... Gardens, Fields, and Forests...Ancient Springs...Population...Principal Churches and Schools...Trades and Cookery...Horse mart in Smithfield...Government and manners...Sports and Pastimes...Spirit of the Inhabitants...London the birth-place of Constantine the Great.

*Baptismal Coin of Constantine the Great, struck in London*

65\*.-\*68

Roman money...Constantine the Great born in England...His conversion to Christianity, and Baptism ...Numismatic commemoration of that event.

*Abbey Church of St. Peter, Westminster, or Westminster Abbey* . . . . . 68\*.-\*80

Extent of Thorney Island...Temple of Apollo... Westminster Abbey founded by King Sebert... Legend of its Consecration by St. Peter...Church

enlarged by Offa, and rebuilt by Edward the Confessor...His burial and canonization...His remains translated into a new Shrine after the partial rebuilding of the Church by Henry III....Completion of the Edifice, and description of the same...Surrender of the Abbey to Henry VIII. and value of its possessions...Erection and dissolution of the Bishopric of Westminster; and re-foundation of the same as a Collegiate Church.

*London in Queen Elizabeth's Reign* . . . . \*81-\*89

Plans of the Metropolis..."Prospect" of London in the reign of Henry VIII. ... Plan re-engraved by Vertue... "Civitas Londinum" published by Ralph Aggas...Verse inscribed on the "Oxonia Antiqua"...Lines on the plan in the Pepysian Collection...Vertue's plan...State of the capital in Queen Elizabeth's reign.

*The Tower of London* . . . . \*89-\*120

Situation of the Fortress...Opinions as to its having been a Roman Foundation...White Tower not built by Cæsar...The Arx Palatina...Treasury and Mint...The White Tower built by Gundulph...Additions made by William Rufus...Custody of the Tower conferred on Geoffrey de Magnaville...Additions made by Longchamp, Bishop of Ely...Besieged by King John...Strengthened by Henry III. and Edward I...Birth-place of Joan Makepeace...Illustrious personages confined here...Richard II. and his court take refuge here during the insurrection of Wat Tyler...State of the Tower during the Wars of York and Lancaster...Death of Lord Hastings...Duke of Clarence drowned in a butt of Malmsey Wine...Supposed murder of Edward V. and the Duke of York...Used as a Royal Residence in Henry the Seventh's reign...Elizabeth his Queen dies here in Child-bed...



Execution of Perkin Warbeck...Decapitation of Anne Boleyn, and Catharine Howard...Remarkable instance of Sleepfulness...Court of Edward VI....Imprisonment of the Protector Somerset...Lady Jane Grey committed to the Tower...Court of Queen Mary ... Insurrection of Sir Thomas Wyatt...Imprisonment of the Princess Elizabeth...Decapitation of Lady Jane Grey, and her Husband...Entrance of Queen Elizabeth into the Tower ... Prisoners confined here during her Reign...Combats of Wild Beasts in the reign of James I....Imprisonment of Lady Arabella Stuart, and Sir Walter Raleigh...Murder of Sir Thomas Overbury...Persons confined here in the reign of Charles I....Murder of the Earl of Essex...Execution of the Duke of Monmouth...Jacobite Prisoners in the reign of William III....Illustrious Personages committed to the Tower for the Scotch Rebellion in 1715, and 1745...Execution of Lord Lovat...Imprisonment of Earl Ferrers...The " patriot " Wilkes...Hardy, Tooke, and Thelwall...Sir Francis Burdett...Thistlewood and his associates...Ancient Processions at Coronations...The Custom discontinued by Charles I....Revived by his Successor...Discontinued...Interior of the Fortress...The Ditch...The Inner Ward...The White Tower ... Observatory ... Volunteer Armoury...Ancient Chapel of St. John...Council Chamber...Chapel of St. Peter...The Beauchamp and other Towers...Traitor's Gate...Collection of Arms...Spanish Armoury...New Horse Armoury arranged by Dr. Meyrick...Equestrian and other Figures...Grand Store-house... Royal Train of Artillery...Small Armoury...Royal Menagerie.

*Roman Antiquities of London—St. Catherine's Chapel, 81-85*

Statement of recent discoveries...Fragments, &c. of



Roman pottery ... A Roman hypocaust...South- wark a Roman station...Tomb of John, Duke of Exeter...Brief account of St. Catherine's Hospital.	
<i>Places in Saxon London mentioned by Historians</i>	85
Tiddberti and Savin Streets...Coelmundinge haga... Hwætundes Stone...Atheling Street.	
<i>Westminster Abbey—Monument of Henry III.</i>	85 89
Monument of Henry III. the work of Italian artists ...Description of his Tomb and brazen statue... Metal images of his two daughters...His funeral... His heart taken to Normandy.	
<i>Guildhall—Entertainment of the Prince Regent and his Royal Guests, in June, 1814—Guildhall Chapel— Blackwell Hall</i>	89-115
Original Hall in Alderman's Bury, described by Fabian...Erection of the present Guildhall...Da- maged by the Great Fire...The present façade truly Gothic...Ancient statuary and verses by El- derton...Description of the Great Hall...Monu- ments of Wm. Beckford, Esq. W. Pitt, Earl of Chatham, Adm. Lord Nelson, and the Right Hon. Wm. Pitt...Inauguration Dinners of the Lord Mayors...Account of the Visit of the Prince Regent and Foreign Sovereigns, in June, 1813... State Table and splendid Paintings...Baron of Beef...New Law Courts...Common Council Room ...The Crypt...Guildhall Chapel and Library... Vague charge against the Protector Somerset... London College...Guildhall Library instituted... Blackwell Hall...Basing Haugh, or Hall.	
<i>Antiquities of the See of London—Foundation of St. Paul's Cathedral—Early Simony—History of the Cathe- dral to the Norman times</i>	115-119
Ecclesiastical Government of London...An Episco- pal See before the year 326...St. Paul's founded by Ethelbert, in 610...Relapse of the East Saxons	

into Paganism...Wina purchases the Diocese, and thus becomes the first Simonist on record in England...Charter granted to St. Paul's by William the Conqueror...Vastness of the Norman Cathedral.

*Westminster Abbey...Burial Place of the good Queen Maud*

119-120

Account of Queen Maud...Singular instance of her excessive humility...Buried in the old Chapter House, but removed into St. Edward's Chapel...Remains of Edward I.

*Priory of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, in St. John's Square—Benedictine Nunnery in Clerkenwell Close—St. James's Church—Sir Thomas Challoner's and Newcastle House—Duchess of Newcastle—Duchess of Albemarle—Knights Hospitallers*

121-131

Priory and Convent founded at Clerkenwell by Jordan Briset and Muriel his wife...Original grant for the Nunnery...Surrounding prospects...Benefactors and revenues at the dissolution...Re-dedication of the Nun's Church in honour of St. James...Mansion of Sir Thomas Challoner, and inscription upon the frontispiece...Newcastle House...Anecdotes of Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle...Her Epitaph in Westminster Abbey...Elizabeth, Duchess of Albemarle...Her eccentricities, and marriage with the sham Emperor of China...Lord Ross's satirical lines on the marriage.

*The Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem*

131-138

Its foundation and dedication...Establishment of the Order of Knights Hospitallers at Jerusalem...History of the Order...Knights of Rhodes...Knights of Malta.. The Priory of St. John destroyed by Fire...Suppression and annual revenues of this establishment...Particulars of the old

church...Crypt ... St. John's Gateway...Edward Cave, and the Gentleman's Magazine.

*Inns of Court in London* . . . . . 138-147

Sites of the ancient Inns of Court, viz. Dowgate, Fetter Lane, and Paternoster Row...Lincoln's Inn...Thavies Inn...The Temple...Gray's Inn... Clifford's Inn...Inns of Chancery...Serjeant's Inn... Scrope's Inn... Clifford's Inn...Clement's Inn... New Inn...Strand Inn...Furnival's Inn...Staple Inn ...Barnard's Inn...George's Inn...Ancient government, discipline, and modes of study in the Middle and Inner Temples...Regulations for long beards and wearing apparel.

*Berkeley Street, Clerkenwell* . . . . . 148

Remains of Lady Elizabeth Berkeley.

*Great Fire of London, in September, 1666—Diaries of Evelyn, Pepys, and Vincent* . . . . . 148-190

Particulars of this extensive Conflagration from the writings of Evelyn, Pepys, Lord Clarendon, Rev. Thos. Vincent, and others...The "Burning of London" presumed to be the work of Papists... Confession and execution of Robert Hubert... Public Offices during the re-building of the City ...Acts for its improvement, and erecting a Court of Judicature...Plans of Sir Christopher Wren and Evelyn...Cessation of the Plague.

*The Monument—Fish Street Hill* . . . . . 190-194

Erection of the Monument, by Sir Christopher Wren, on the site of St. Margaret's Church...Description of this noble column...Singular Print of the Great Fire...Suicides.

*Gresham College, Bishopsgate Street* . . . . . 194-203

Mansion of Sir Thomas Gresham...Pennant's error respecting the Royal Exchange...Visit of Queen Elizabeth to Sir Thomas, and traditionary anecdote of the Knight's loyalty ... Foundation of Gresham College, under the provisions of Sir Tho-

mas's will...History and description of the College... Royal Society... Professors...Museum... Excise Office...Singular anecdote of Drs. Mead and Woodward.

*Intended Monument for King Henry VI.* . . . . 203-206

Birth and Character of Henry VI....His decease in the Tower, and interment at Chertsey...Removal of his body to Windsor...Reputed sanctity, and purposed canonization.

*Bermondsey Abbey, Southwark* . . . . . 206-209

Foundation of this Abbey, in 1082...Sequestered by Edward III....Re-established by Richard II.... Monastic buildings extensive...State assemblies here...Death of the Queens Catharine of Valois, and Elizabeth Widville...Abbey surrendered to Henry VIII....Its revenues...Mansion of the Radcliffs, Earls of Sussex...Ancient Gateway...King John's Court...Bermondsey Church.

*Westminster Hall* . . . . . 209-212

Coffee Houses and Shops at Westminster Hall... Lines illustrative of the View of the Interior of the Hall...John Stagg, bookseller.

*Early Drama in England—Restrictions on Players—*

*Boar's Head without Aldgate* . . . . . 212-214

Mysteries and Moralities...Origin of the regular Drama...Restrictions on Players in Queen Mary's reign.

*St. Olave's, or Tooley Street, Southwark—St. Olave's Church.—Abbatial Residence—The Maze* 214-216

Corruption of the name of St. Olave...Foundation of the Church...Prior of Lewis...Walnut-tree Court...Abbot of St. Augustine's Inne...Sellen-ger's Wharf...Abbot of Battle's Inne... Battle Bridge and Stairs...The Maze.

*Westminster Abbey—Monument of Richard II. and Anne of Bohemia, his first Queen* . . . . . 216-223

Richard II. Monument erected in his lifetime...

Indentures concerning it...Death of Queen Anne  
 ...Particulars of King Richard's history...Diver-  
 sity of accounts as to the manner of his death...  
 Description of his Monument...Curious Paintings.

*Ely House, Holborn* . . . . . 223-231

Ely House, the town mansion of the Bishops of  
 Ely...Erection of the Chapel by Thos. de Arun-  
 del...John of Gaunt dies at Ely House...Shaks-  
 peare's notice of that event, and of the Straw-  
 berries there...Grand Feast given at Ely House by  
 the Serjeants-at-Law, in 1531, and prices of the  
 provisions...Assignment of a great part of the  
 demesne to Sir Christopher Hatton...Its situation  
 in Queen Elizabeth's reign...Christ's Passion act-  
 ed there...Sale of the estate, &c. and building of  
 Ely Place...Ely Chapel described.

*Mercers' Company and Hall* . . . . . 231-236

Charter granted by Richard II...Value of the Com-  
 pany's property...Ancient Pageant at inaugurations  
 ...The Hall and Mercery...Birth-place of Thomas  
 Beckett...Romantic story of his father's marriage  
 ...Chapel and Hospital, or College of Acon...  
 Grammar School...Notice of the Archbishop of  
 Spalatro...Description of the present edifice...Por-  
 traits.

*Moral Sentences on the City Conduits* . . . . . 236-238

Scarce black letter Tract...Verses upon the Conduit  
 in Gracechurch Street...In Cornhill...In Cheap-  
 side.

*Biographical Sketch of Will. Sommers, King Henry  
 the VIIIth's Fool, or Jester* . . . . . 238-240

Will. Sommers, though a reputed Fool, much ce-  
 lebrated for his wit...His figure caricatured in the  
 Tower...Early History of Sommers, and intro-  
 duction to Henry VIII...His general character...  
 Account of his different Portraits.

- Monumental Inscriptions on Queen Elizabeth* . . . . . 241-244  
 Inscriptions at St. Andrew Undershaft; Allhallows,  
 London Wall; St. Mary Woolchurch; St. Mil-  
 dred, in the Poultry; St. Lawrence, Jewry, and  
 St. Saviour's, Southwark...Epitaph in Camden's  
 Remains—Ludicrous verses on the removal of the  
 Queen's Corpse from Richmond.
- St. Paul's Cross* . . . . . 244-255  
 General assembly at St. Paul's Cross in 1259...The Cross  
 destroyed by a tempest, in 1382, and rebuilt about  
 1449...Its demolition in 1643...Singular proceed-  
 ings at St. Paul's Cross, as connected with affairs  
 of state...Sermons preached at the Cross against  
 the Pope...Tumults at the Cross, and burning of  
 Tindal's Bible there...Sermons at St. Paul's Cross  
 in Queen Elizabeth's and James the First's reign  
 ...The Shunamite's House.
- Cries of London—New Brooms* . . . . . 255  
 Song in the Comedy of "The Three Ladies of Lon-  
 don."
- Miseries of Bishop Fisher* . . . . . 256-257  
 Bishop Fisher Beheaded on Tower Hill...His Sup-  
 plicatory Letter to Cromwell...Bust of this Pre-  
 late by Torrigiano.
- Pageantry—Nuptials of Prince Arthur, and the Princess  
 Katharine of Spain* . . . . . 257-260  
 Solemnization of the Marriage, between Arthur  
 and Katharine...Particulars of the Pageantry dis-  
 played on that occasion.
- Mansion of Cicely, Duchess of York* . . . . . 261  
 Unique notice of that mansion...Presumed destruc-  
 tion of the Will of Edward IV.
- St. Elphege—Removal of his body from St. Paul's to  
 Canterbury* . . . . . 261-266  
 St. Elphege imprisoned at Greenwich by the Danes,  
 and killed there in April, 1012...His body pur-

chased by the Londoners and interred in St. Paul's  
...A Church erected to his memory...Singular Particulars of the removal of his body by King Canute to the Cathedral at Canterbury.

*The Game of Chess—London Professors* . . . 266-272

Remote antiquity of the Game of Chess...Its introduction into England...Poetical description of the Game by Nicholas Breton...Extraordinary fascinations, but positive inutility of Chess...Variety of games and situations.

*Ancient Penances* . . . . . 272-273

Imprisonment of lewd Women in the Tunn...Punishment of a Priest for incontinence.

*State of the Tower in Charles the First's time.* . . . 273-274

Names of the Towers and Prisons in that Fortress in Charles the First's reign.

*Red-Cross Street, Cripplegate* . . . . . 274-275

Abbot of Ramsay's mansion, afterwards Drury House—Origin of the name of this street...Anecdote of a menial of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, afterwards Richard III.

*Goldsmiths' Company and Hall* . . . . . 276-281

Antiquity of the Goldsmiths' Company...Its incorporation and various privileges...Affray between the Goldsmiths' and Taylors' Companies...Goldsmiths' Hall described...The Court Room...Paintings...Assay Office...Revenues.

*Acting in Church Yards, on Sundays and Holydays,* 281-285

Remarks on Puritanical acerbity...Interludes acted in church yards...Mysteries and Moralities performed in Churches...Rankin's "Mirror of Monsters"...Extracts relating to acting on the Sabbath, from the parish books of St. Katharine Cree...Restrictions on Players in Queen Elizabeth's reign.

*Prynne's Histrio-Mastix, and the Inns of Court* . . . 285-290



Opinions of William Prynne...Notices of his life  
 ...Committed to the Tower, and prosecuted in the  
 Court of the Star Chamber...His cruel and unjust  
 sentence...Released from confinement, and trium-  
 phant return to London...Particulars of the splen-  
 did Masque acted by the Members of the Inns  
 of Court, at Whitehall, in 1634.

*Skinners' Company and Hall* . . . . . 291-296

Incorporation of the Skinners' Company, by Ed-  
 ward III....Procession of the Skinners' on Corpus  
 Christi Day...Controversy between the Eastland  
 Merchants and Skinners' Company...Description  
 of the present building...Hall...Court Room...  
 Revenues of the Company...Skinners' estate at  
 Somers' Town.

*Spiritual Government of London, and Officers of the  
 Diocese* . . . . . 297-302

A British Bishop at the Council of Arles, in 326...  
 Melitus chosen Bishop of London, in 604...Ethel-  
 bert founds the Cathedral of St. Paul, and Sebert  
 his nephew founds Westminster Abbey..Officers of  
 this diocese...Order of precedency of the Bishops  
 of London...The Bishops' courts...Duties of the  
 Cathedral officers...Names and Situations of the  
 Prebends...*Domesday* of Ralph de Diceto.

*London prices of Poultry in 1575* . . . . . 302-304

Prices fixed by Sir James Hawes, Lord Mayor, to  
 be observed by Shopkeepers...Prices to be ob-  
 served in the Market.



## LIST OF PLATES IN VOL. I.

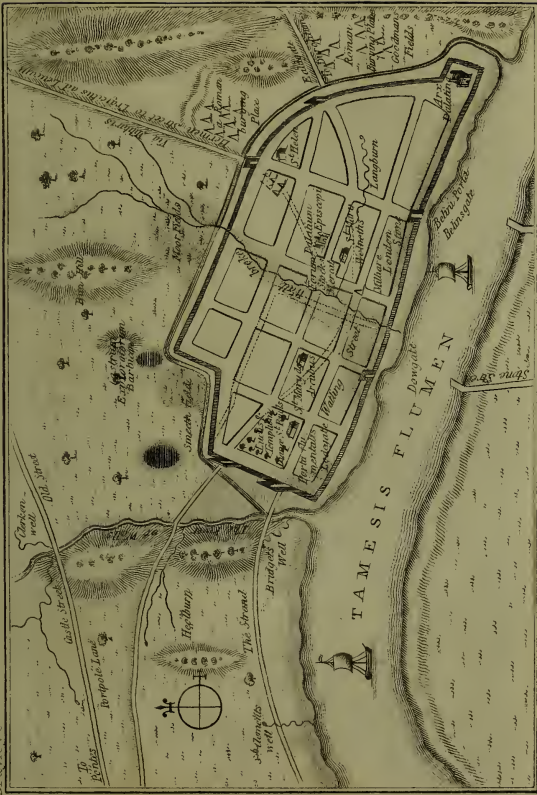
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LONDON, in Queen Elizabeth's Reign, <i>To face the Title Page</i>	
Londinium Augusta . . . . .	47
Westminster Abbey, from the Dean's Yard . . . . .	*68
—————, North Transept . . . . .	*76
—————, View in the South Aisle . . . . .	*78
The Tower and its Liberties . . . . .	*89
The Tower in 1810, with the Enterprize Tender . . . . .	*109
Guildhall, Guildhall Chapel, &c. in 1720 . . . . .	89
————— and Chapel in 1810 . . . . .	94
—————, Plan of the Great Hall, as fitted up for the Entertainment of the Prince Regent and Foreign Sovereigns, in June 1814 . . . . .	101
Interior of Guildhall during the Entertainment . . . . .	105
Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, about 1640 . . . . .	121
St. John's Hospital and Chapel . . . . .	131
Gate of St. John's Hospital . . . . .	138
Fish Street Hill in 1800 . . . . .	190
Gresham College about 1740 . . . . .	194
Design for a Monument for King Henry VI. . . . .	203

Gateway of Bermondsey Abbey,* Southwark, in 1790 . . . . .	206
Westminster Hall in Term Time . . . . .	209
Ely Chapel, 1780 . . . . .	223
Mercers' Hall . . . . .	231
Will. Sommers, King Henry the Eighth's Jester . . . . .	238
St. Paul's Cross . . . . .	244
Goldsmiths' Hall . . . . .	276
Skinners' Hall . . . . .	291

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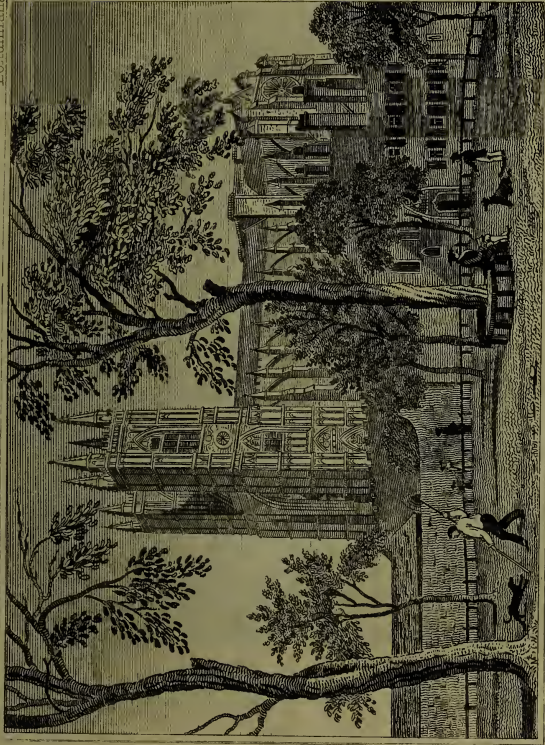
\* It should have been stated, in the account of Bermondsey Abbey, that the old Gateway, shewn in the Print, was wholly pulled down, about seventeen years ago, when the new Road was made there. It stood directly opposite to Bermondsey Church-yard, at the avenue which now leads into Bermondsey Square.



# LONDINIUM AUGUSTA.

The: Hurst Edw: Chace & Co: London





WESTMINSTER ABBEY FROM THE DEAN'S YARD.

Thos. Hurst Edw. Chance & Co. London



Braylevs

Londiniana



WESTMINSTER ABBEY, NORTH TRANSEPT.

Tho: Hurst, Edw<sup>d</sup> Chance & C<sup>o</sup> London.



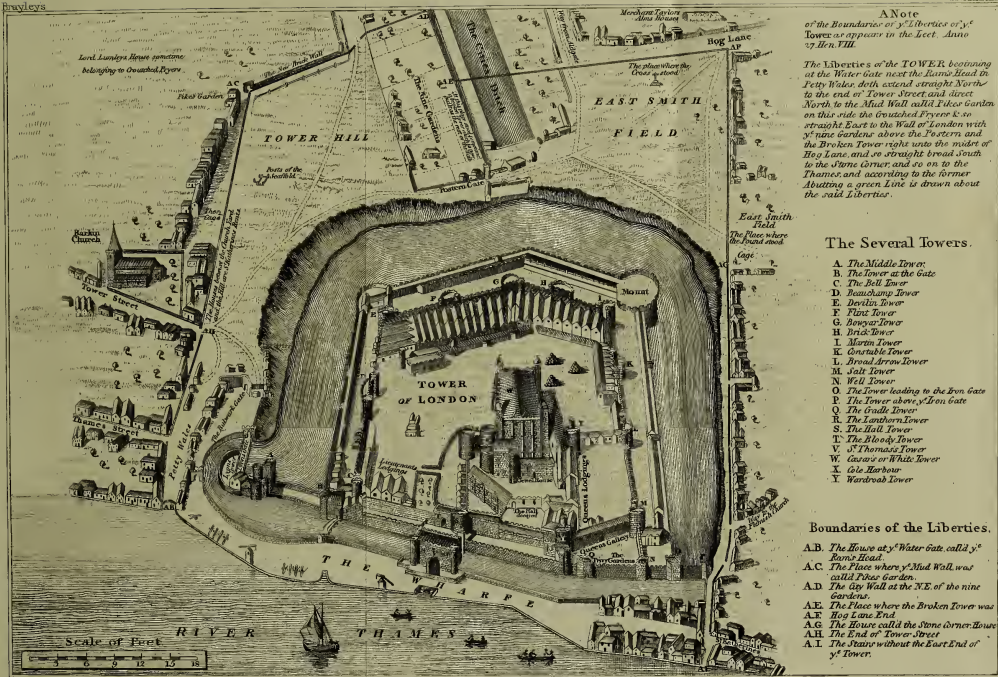


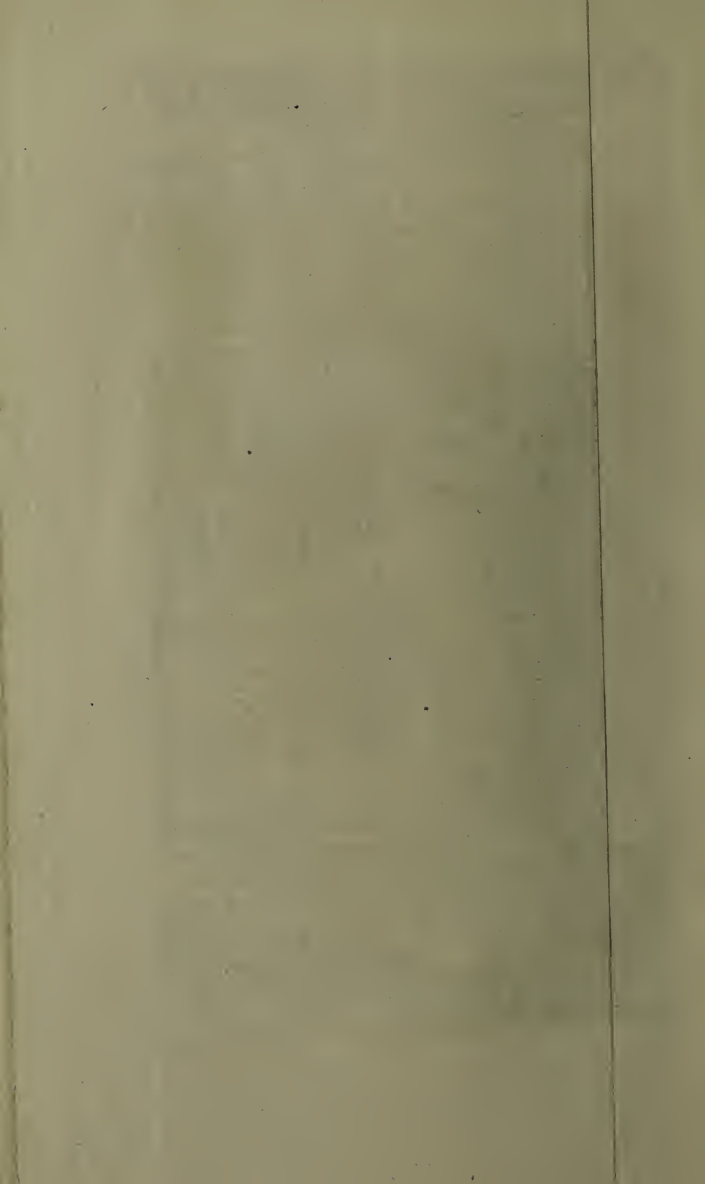


WESTMINSTER ABBEY, VIEW IN THE SOUTH AISLE.

Tho<sup>s</sup> Hurst Edw<sup>d</sup> Chance & C<sup>o</sup> London.









THE TOWER, IN 1810, WITH THE ENTERPRIZE TENDER.

Tho<sup>s</sup>. Hurst, Edw<sup>d</sup>. Chance & C<sup>o</sup>. London.







GUILDHALL, GUILDHALL CHAPEL &c. IN 1720.

Thos. M. & W. Chance & Co. London.







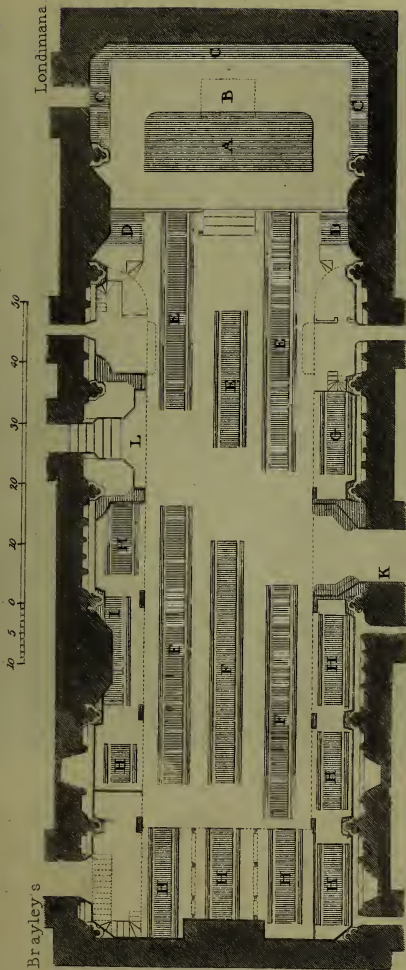
GUILDHALL AND CHAPEL. IN 1810.

Tho<sup>s</sup> Hurst, Adm<sup>r</sup> Chance & Co<sup>s</sup> London.



# GUILD HALL.

Plan of the Great Hall as fitted up for the Entertainment of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent on the 18th of June 1814.



- A. The Royal Table on the raised platform called *FFF*. Tables at the upper ends of which some of the Nobility, Ministers of State, Aldermen &c. were placed and at the other parts members of the Common Council.
- B. The Royal Canopy.
- C. Sideboards.
- D. D. Raised Swings for Barons of Beef.
- E. E. E. Tables for the Lord Mayor, Court of Aldermen, the Nobility, Ministers of State, Gentry, and Foreigners of Distinction.
- F. F. F. Tables at the upper ends of which some of the Nobility, Ministers of State, Aldermen &c. were placed and at the other parts members of the Common Council.
- G. Table for the Judges.
- H. H. H. Tables for the Court of Common Council.
- I. Table for the City Officers.
- J. Staircase to the Interior Courts.
- K. Great Entrance.
- L. Staircase to the Interior Courts.

The<sup>s</sup> Hurst, Edw<sup>d</sup> & Chance & Co London.





INTERIOR OF GUILD HALL,  
*As it appeared at the Royal Entertainment given to the*  
 PRINCE REGENT, (NOW GEORGE THE III.)  
 AND HIS ILLUSTRIOUS VISITORS,  
*On Saturday June 13.<sup>th</sup> 1814.*  
 Tho:<sup>s</sup> Hurst, Edw:<sup>d</sup> Chance & C<sup>o</sup> London.







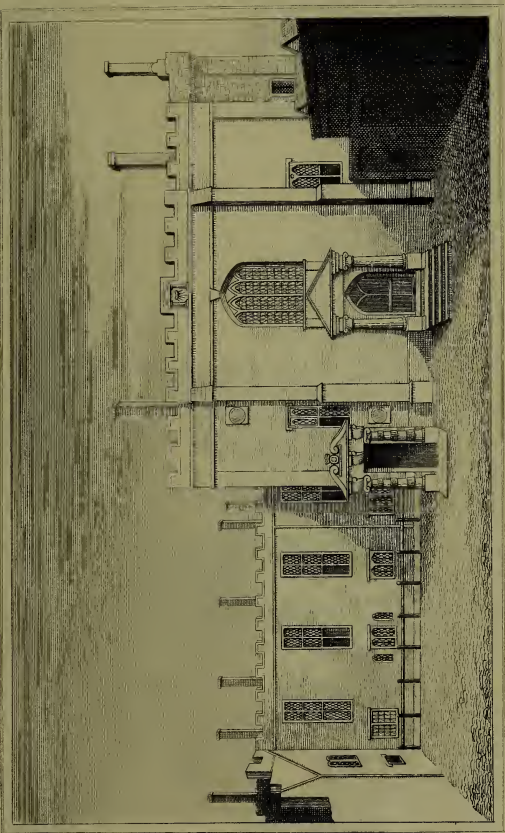
HOSPITAL OF ST JOHN OF JERUSALEM, ABOUT 1640.

*Eastern Side towards St John's Street.*

Tho<sup>s</sup> Hurst L<sup>td</sup> & Chanc<sup>rs</sup> & C<sup>o</sup> London.



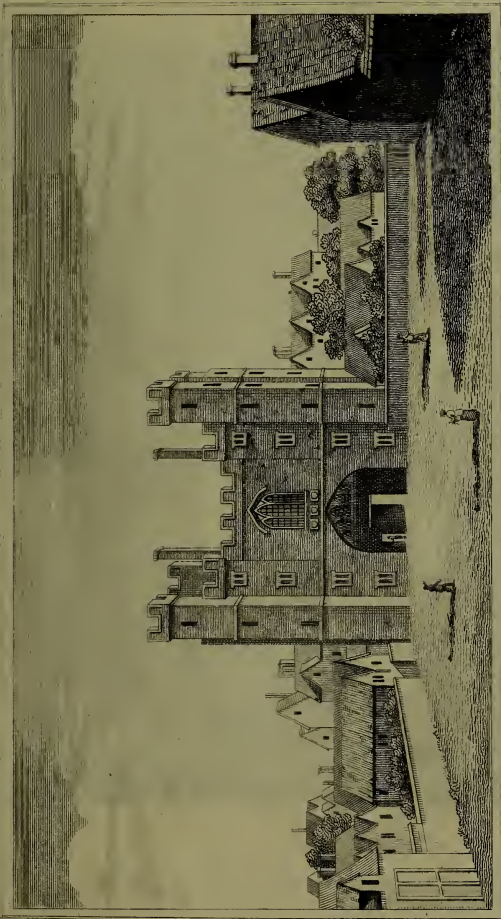




ST JOHN'S HOSPITAL, & CHAPEL (WEST SIDE) - CLERKENWELL.

Tho<sup>s</sup> Hurst Edw<sup>d</sup> Chance & C<sup>o</sup> London.





GATE OF ST JOHN'S HOSPITAL, CLERKENWELL.

Tho: Hurst, Edw<sup>d</sup> Chance & C<sup>o</sup> London

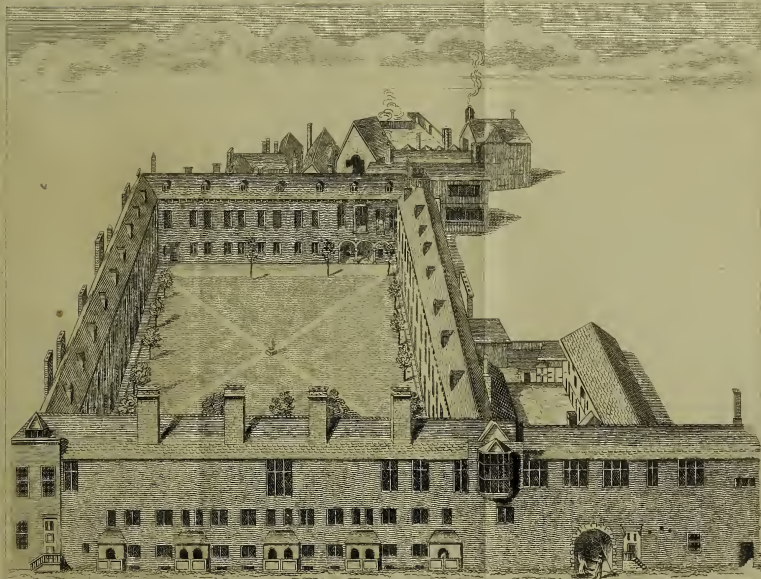




FISH STREET HILL, IN 1800.

*Shewing the Monument, St Magnus Church, & Old London Bridge.*





CRESHAM COLLEGE, ABOUT 1740.

Tho<sup>s</sup> Hurst Edw<sup>d</sup> Chance & C<sup>o</sup> London







DESIGN FOR A MONUMENT FOR KING HENRY VI.

*From a Drawing in the British Museum.*

Tho<sup>s</sup> Hurst, Edw<sup>d</sup> Chance & C<sup>o</sup> London.





GATEWAY OF BERMONDSEY ABBEY, IN 1790.

The<sup>d</sup> Engrst. Edw<sup>d</sup> Chance & C<sup>o</sup> London.





WESTMINSTER HALL, IN TERM TIME; ABOUT 1770.

Theo<sup>l</sup> Hurst, Edw<sup>d</sup> Caunce & C<sup>o</sup> London



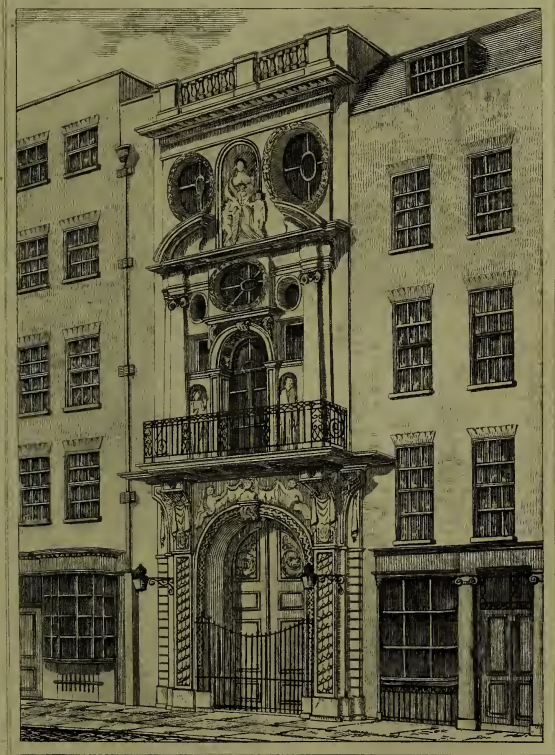




ELY CHAPEL, 1760.

Thos. Hurst. Fdw<sup>d</sup> Chance & C<sup>o</sup> London





MERCERS' HALL.

Thos. Hurst, Edw. Chance & Co. London.





WILL. SOMMERS,  
KING HENRY THE EIGHT'S JESTER..

Tho.<sup>s</sup> Hurst. Edw.<sup>d</sup> Chance & C<sup>o</sup>. London.



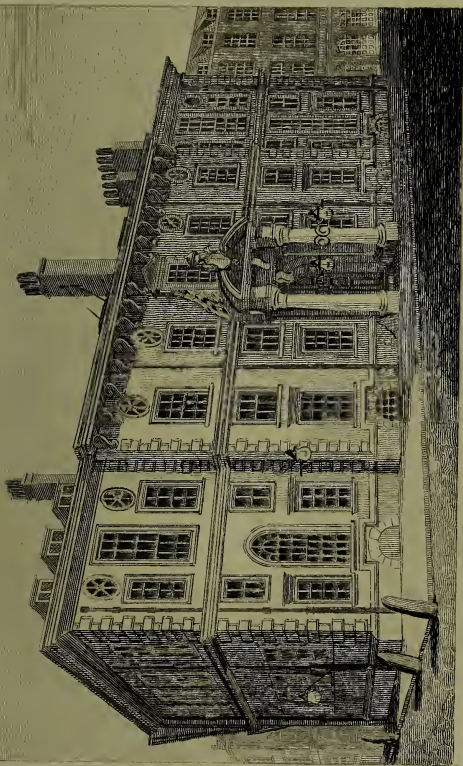




ST. PAUL'S CROSS, IN THE REIGN OF JAMES I.  
*From a large Painting of St. Paul's Cathedral, in the Possession of the  
Society of Antiquaries.*

Tho: Hurst, Edw<sup>d</sup> Chance & C<sup>o</sup> London.





GOLDSMITHS' HALL.

Theo. Hurst, Edw. Chance & Co. London





SKIPPERS' HALL.

Tho: Hurst, Edw: Chance & Co. London.





## LONDINIANA.

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### ORIGIN OF LONDON.

LONDON, the metropolis of England, the capital of the British Empire, and the emporium of the commerce of the world, is a city of extremely remote origin ; so remote, indeed, that its foundation and early history are altogether enveloped in the mist of fable, or but dimly shadowed in the legendary records of past ages. “ But herein,” says Livy, the Roman historian, “ antiquity is pardonable ; for it hath the especial privilege of interlacing Divine matters with Human, in order to make the origin of cities more honourable, more sacred, and, as it were, of greater majesty.”

Brute, a lineal descendant of Eneas, “ the grandson of Jupiter, by his daughter Venus,” is, by Geoffrey of Monmouth, said to have “ builded this *citie*,” about the year of the world 2855, (or 1008 years before the nativity of Christ,) and to have named it *Troy-novant*, or *Trinovantum*. This tale, although

“it bee not of sufficient force to drawe the gayne-sayers,” was once esteemed of such validity by the citizens, as to be transcribed into their “*Liber Albus*,” and hence into the “*Recordatorium Civitatis Speculum* ;” and so high was its credit, that in a memorial presented to Henry the Sixth, in the early part of his reign, and now preserved among the records in the Tower, it is advanced as evidence of the “great antiquity, precedency, and dignity of the City of London, even before Rome.”

The appellation *Civitas Trinobantum*, which Cæsar has first used in his Commentaries, is, by some writers, referred to this city, on account of its similarity to *Trinovantum* ; but others, with much greater probability, consider it as indicative of the *State*, or *Seigniory* of the *Trinobantes*, a tribe who opposed Cæsar in his second invasion, under their chieftain, Cassivellaunus. The latter appears to have ruled over the districts now divided into the counties of Middlesex, and Essex, and part of Herts ; and which, probably, obtained the name of *Tranovant*, or the *Country beyond the Stream*, from the Britons of the south, in consequence of its lying upon, or beyond, the northern banks of the broad expanse of waters formed by the river Thames. The inhabitants would have been called *Tranovanti*, *Tranovantwyr*, and *Tranovantwys*, which the Romans, by an easy corruption, would pronounce *Trinobantes* ; and it is most probable that the chief cities of that people were those which, after the full establishment of the Roman dominion here, were called *Londinium*, or London

*Verulamium*, or St. Alban's, and *Camulodunum*, or Colchester.

From the period at which London is said to have been founded by Brute, even fable itself is silent in regard to its history, until the century immediately preceding the Roman invasion. But we are told that it was then 'encircled with walls,' and graced 'with fayre buildings and towres,' by King Lud; who also 'builded the strong gate in the west part of the cittie, afterwards called Ludgate, and changed the name of Troy-novant into *Caer-Lud*. It is stated, likewise, that 'four British Kings were buried in London,' and that 'Mulmutius Dunwallo (whose son Belinus is said to have founded the gate and haven at Billingsgate) built a temple therein, and dedicated it to Peace.' For the authenticity of these statements, we have only the disputed testimony of Monmouth; yet, however deficient in truth may be his relations, there cannot be a doubt but that London was a *British city*, as well as of *British* foundation, notwithstanding that both Bishop Stillingfleet and Maitland agree in ascribing its origin to the Romans. Pennant, speaking of the manners of the Britons in the time of Cæsar, but previously to the Roman invasion, says, "There is not the least reason to doubt but that *London* existed at that period, and was a place of much resort. It stood in such a situation as the Britons would select, according to the rule they established. An immense forest originally extended to the river side; and even as late as the reign of Henry the Second, covered the northern neighbour-

hood of the City, and was filled with various species of beasts of chace. It was defended naturally by fosses; one formed by the creek which ran along Fleet Ditch; the other afterwards known by the name of Wall-brook: the south side was guarded by the Thames. The north they might think sufficiently protected by the adjacent forest.”\*

This argument for the priority of London, may be strengthened by referring to the Watling Street, which the best informed antiquaries consider as a British road, and as constructed long before the Romans obtained dominion in Britain. This road, crossing the Thames from Stone Street, in Surrey, entered Middlesex at *Dwr-Gate*, or Dow-Gate, whence it continued through the city along the tract still designated as the Watling Street. Now as the term *Dwr-Gate*, or water-gate, is evidently British, it must have been applied to this passage prior to the Ro-

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\* The Britons “sought for security in places surrounded with woods or morasses; and added to the natural strength by forming ramparts and sinking fosses: but they preferred spots fortified by nature; and made artificial works only where nature shewed herself deficient. Within such precincts they formed their towns.” Pennant’s “*London*,” 4th edition; p. 3. “The Roman and Greek authors,” says Stow, “correctly affirmed that before the arrival of the Romans, the Britaines had no townes, but called that a towne which had a thicke intangled wood, defended with a ditch and bancke; the like whereof, the Irishmen, our next neighbours, doe at this day call Fastnes.”—*Survey of London*, p. 5, edit. 1618.

man occupation of London, for the Romans would never have permitted a *Trajectus* of their own to receive a name from those whom they had conquered ; and, secondly, as the river is certainly not, nor ever could have been, *fordable*, between Dwr-Gate and the opposite shore, the ferry which was established there was most probably continued in that particular direction for the conveniency of the British inhabitants of London.

Ptolemy, whose work, however valuable, is not free from geographical errors, has placed Londinium on the southern side of the river Thames ; and Dr. Gale, assuming his authority to be correct, has, in his Commentary upon the Itinerary of Antoninus, affixed the site of the Roman London to the tract still called St. George's Fields, although now almost entirely covered with streets and buildings. In proof of this opinion, he mentions that ' many Roman coins, tessellated works, bricks, sepulchral remains, &c. have been found there.' The arguments of Dr. Gale have been opposed with success by different writers, and, among others, by Maitland and Dr. Woodward. The former, who seems to have considered the ground more attentively than any other author, states his belief that the sagacious Romans would never have made choice of so noisome a place for a station, as St. George's Fields must have been in their days.

" It is evident to me," continues Maitland, " that at that time those fields must have been *overflowed by every*

*spring tide.* For, notwithstanding the river being at present confined by artificial banks, I have frequently, at spring tides, seen the small current of water which issues from the river 'Thames through a common sewer at the Falcon, not only fill all the neighbouring ditches, but also, at the upper end of Gravel Lane, overflow its banks into St. George's Fields. And considering that above a twelfth part of the water of the river is denied passage [when the tide sets up the river] by the piers and starlings of London Bridge, (it flowing, at an ordinary spring tide, upwards of nineteen inches on the east more than on the west side of the said bridge,) I think this is a plain indication, that before the 'Thames was confined by banks, St. George's Fields must have been *considerably* under water *every high tide*: that part of the said fields called Lambeth Marsh, was *under water not an age ago*; and upon observation it will still appear, that, *before* the exclusion of the river, it must have been overflowed by *most neap tides*.\*

Dr. Woodward opposes the authority of Tacitus to that of Ptolemy, and intimates, that if the discovery of Roman remains in St. George's Fields could be regarded as a proof of Roman London being situated on the southern bank of the Thames, its site might as well be assigned to any part of the ground

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\* This argument will acquire corroboration from a circumstance communicated by the late Robert Michell, Esq. architect, who, about the year 1775, having erected some houses on the Blackfriars Road, near to the Magdalen Hospital, afterwards supplied them with water by means of a machine that raised it from some ancient ditches which extended to the river, and were regularly filled by the flowing of the tides.



between that place and Blackheath, since “ the like antiquities have been discovered for some miles eastward.”—“ I have now in my custody,” he states, “ the head of an ancient Terminus, with two faces, that was found along with large flat bricks, and other antiquities, unquestionably Roman, about twenty years since, in digging in the gardens (Mr. Cole’s) along the south side of the Deptford Road. I have seen, likewise, a Simpulum that was dugged up near New Cross : and there were several years ago discovered two urns, and five or six of those vials that are usually called lachrymatories, a little beyond Deptford. Nay, there have been very lately a great number of urns, and other things, discovered on Blackheath.”\* Tacitus, who had the most authentic information on the affairs of Britain, and was somewhat prior in time to Ptolemy, evidently restricts the operations of the brave, but unfortunate, Boadicea, to the *northern* side of the Thames ; and as London is known to have fallen beneath her vengeance, that circumstance alone disproves Ptolemy’s assertion : and further, had London really stood in St. George’s Fields, it never could have been noticed by Tacitus as possessing any ‘ sweetness,’ or ‘ attractions,’ in its ‘ situation ;’ as the marshy nature of the ground must have falsified that description.

Presuming then, that the site of London was ever

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\* Vide a Letter to Mr. Hearne, written in 1711, and printed in Leland’s Itinerary, Vol. VIII. Edit. 3d, and Preface to it, p. 7.

where it now stands, there can be little hesitation in assigning the Roman remains discovered along the southern shore of the Thames, to the ages subsequent to the embankment of that river, which, in all probability, was a Roman work ;\* and a Roman *Castrum*, as Dr. Woodward has conjectured, may have been erected where the coins, bricks, &c. were found in St. George's Fields ; yet that supposition is some-

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\* “ When the Britons,” says the late venerable historian Whitaker, in a communication to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. LVII, p. 685, (Aug. 1787,) “ were the sole lords of this Island, their rivers, we may be sure, strayed at liberty over the adjacent country, confined by no artificial barriers, and having no other limits to their overflow, than what Nature herself had provided. This would be particularly the case with the Thames. London itself was only a fortress in the woods then ; and the river at its foot roamed over all the low grounds that skirt its channel : thus it ran on the south from the west of Wandsworth to Woolwich, to Dartford, to Gravesend, and to Sheerness ; and on the north, ranged from Poplar and the Isle of Dogs, along the levels of Essex to the mouth of the Thames.

“ In this state of the river the Romans settled at London, which, under their management, soon became a considerable mart of trade. It afterwards rose to the dignity of a military colony ; and it was even made at last the capital of one of those provinces into which the Roman parts of Britain were divided. The spirit of Roman refinement, therefore, would naturally be attracted by the marshes immediately under its eye, and would naturally exert itself to recover them from the waters. The low grounds in St. George's Fields, particularly, would soon catch the eye, and soon feel the hand of the improving Romans ; and from those grounds the

what affected by the name *South-werc*, which is clearly Saxon. The more plausible conjecture is, that the Romans had villas, and perhaps other buildings, both for pleasure and retirement, in different directions around the metropolis.

ETYMOLOGY OF THE NAME OF LONDON.

The origin of the name of London is involved in as much uncertainty as the period of its foundation. Tacitus calls it *Londinium*, and *Colonia Augusta*.

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spirit of embanking would naturally go along both the sides of the river; and in nearly four centuries of the Roman residence here, would erect those thick and strong ramparts against the tide, which are so very remarkable along the Essex side of the river; and a breach in which, at Dagenham, was with so much difficulty, and at so great an expense, closed even in our own age.

“Such works are plainly the production of a refined period. They are therefore the production either of these later ages of refinement, or of some period of equal refinement in antiquity: yet they have not been formed in any period to which our records reach. Their existence is antecedent to all our records. They are the operation of a remoter age; and then they can be ascribed only to the Romans, who began an era of refinement in this Island, that was terminated by the Saxons, and that did not return till three or four centuries ago.—The wonderful work of embanking the river, was the natural operation of that magnificent spirit which intersected the surface of the earth with so many raised ramparts for roads. The Romans first began it in St. George’s Fields, probably; they then continued it along the adjoining, and equally shallow marshes of the river; and they finally consummated it, I apprehend, in constructing the grand sea-wall along the deep fens of Essex.”

Ammianus Marcellinus mentions it as an ancient place, once called *Lundinium*, but when he wrote, *Augusta*; and the same author styles it *Augusta Trinobantum*. Bede calls it *Londonia*; and King Alfred, in his translation of the above passage in Bede, *Lundenceaster*: other appellations given to it by the Saxons, were *Lundenberig* and *Lundenwic*.

Some writers have supposed the word *London* to be derived from the British *Llong*, a ship, and *Din*, a town; but this could not have been the case till the place became noted for its concourse of shipping.\* Some prior appellation must therefore have been given to it, and that, according to the learned editor of the Welch Archæology, Dr. William Owen Pughe, F. A. S. was *Llyn-Din*, or the 'Town on the Lake.' *Llyn* being the British term for a broad expanse of water, or lake; and this appearance must have been strikingly exhibited when all the low grounds on the Surrey side of the river were overflowed, as well as those extending from Wapping Marsh to the Isle of Dogs, and still further for many miles along the Essex shore: the transition from *Llyn-Din* to *London* would be of easy growth. The name *Augusta* is evidently Roman; and although some antiquaries have stated it to have been conferred on this City in honour of Helena, mother to Constantine the Great, and others suppose it to have been acquired from the *Legio Secunda Augusta*, which is known to have been stationed in London, yet the more probable opi-

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\* Pennant's London, p. 14.

nion is, that it did not obtain the appellation *Augusta*, until it became the Capital of the British province, and in consequence only of its having become so.

## LONDON IN THE ROMAN TIME.

The earliest mention of *London* by the Roman historians, occurs in the Annals of Tacitus ; who expressly states that it was so called from its situation ; but that it was designated *Augusta* from its magnificence. That nervous writer, in his account of the revolt of Boadicea, which broke out in the reign of Nero, about the year 61, describes the London of that day, as ‘ the chief residence of merchants, and the great mart of trade and commerce ; though not dignified with the name of a colony.’ This description may be adduced as an additional argument for the British origin of London ; for it cannot be supposed, on rational grounds, that any place should be characterised as the *great mart of trade and commerce*, and the *chief residence of merchants*, the foundation of which was so recent as that of London must have been at this period, had it actually been indebted for its origin to the Romans. The expedition which subjected Britain to the Roman arms, was that under Aulus Plautius, in the year 43 : scarcely eighteen years, therefore, had elapsed from this date to the time mentioned by Tacitus ; and that was a term much too short to admit of such high prosperity. It is extremely improbable, also, that the Romans should not have bestowed the privileges of a municipium on a city founded by themselves ; and as London was

then, and even long after, governed by præfects, and not by its own laws, and its own magistrates, the inference of the priority of its origin to their invasion can hardly be disputed.\*

In the dire vengeance taken by the Iceni, under Boadicea, for Roman insults and Roman perfidy, *Camulodunum*, *Verulamium*, and *Londinium*, were all laid waste by fire and the sword.

From the conduct of Suetonius the Roman general, who found it requisite to abandon London, in order "to secure the rest of the province," we may conclude that this city was not then either surrounded by walls, or particularly fortified. How soon it recovered from its late calamity is unknown; but in the time of the Emperor Severus, who reigned from 193 to 211, it was distinguished as 'a great and wealthy city;' and Tacitus describes it as "illustrious for the vast number of merchants who resorted to it, for its widely extended commerce, and for the abundance of every species of commodity which it could supply."†

The consequence which ancient London had acquired at this early period, may also be satisfactorily deduced from the celebrated Itinerary of Antoninus, from which it appears, that no fewer than seven of

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\* Pennant considers, that London, though only a *Præfectura*, was even then of such concourse and such vast trade, that the wise conquerors did not think fit to trust the inhabitants with the same privileges as other places, of which they had less reason to be jealous.

† Annals, Lib. XIV. c. 33.



the fifteen Iters either commence or terminate here ; and that it was considered by the Romans as the metropolis of Britain, is further established by the fact of its being the residence of the Vicar of Britain, under the Roman Emperors. The abode of an officer of such distinction, clearly marks London to have been the seat of government, of justice, and of the finances ; which consequently contributed to its extent, its magnificence, and its wealth. The commerce of London was also so extended, that, as early as the year 359, eight hundred vessels were employed for the conveyance and exportation of corn only.

#### WALLS OF LONDON.

At what particular era the original *Walls* of London were erected, has not been correctly ascertained. That they were of Roman building is certain, both from the testimony of different authors, and from the many Roman remains discovered in and about them. Stow imagines that they were not built so early as 296, “ because in that yeere, when Alectus the tyrant was slaine in the field, the Frankes easily entred London, and had sacked the same, had not God (of his great favour,) at the very instant, brought along the river of Thames certain bands of Roman souldiers, who slew those Frankes in every street of the Citie.”\* He also states, on the authority of Simeon of Durham, that Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great, ‘ was the first’ that

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\* Stow's *Survey of London*, p. 6, edit. 1618.

walled the city 'about the year of Christ 306;' and in proof of this it has been said, that 'numbers of coins of Helena' have been found under the walls.\* Camden says, that the work was executed by Constantine himself, through the persuasions of Helena. Maitland ascribes it to Theodosius, who was governor of Britain in 379.

" The direct course of the City Wall was as follows. Beginning at a fort that occupied a part of the site of the present Tower of London, the line was continued by the Minories, between Poor Jury Lane and the Vineyard, to *Ald-gate*. Thence forming a curve to the north-west, between Shoemaker Row, Bevis Marks, Camomile Street, and Houndsditch, it abutted on *Bishops-gate*, from which it extended in nearly a straight line through Bishopsgate Church-yard, and behind Bethlem Hospital and Fore-street, to *Cripple-gate*. At a short distance further, it turned southward by the back of Hart Street and Cripplegate church-yard, and thence continuing between Monkwell and Castle Streets, led by the back of Barber-Surgeons' Hall and Noble Street, to Dolphin Court, opposite Oat Lane, where turning westerly, it approached *Alders-gate*. Proceeding hence towards the south-west, it described a curve along the back of St. Botolph's church-yard, Christ's Hospital, and Old Newgate; from which it continued southward to *Lud-gate*, passing at the back of the College of Physicians, Warwick Square, Stationers' Hall, and the London Coffee-House on Ludgate Hill. From Ludgate it proceeded westerly by Cock Court to Little Bridge Street, where turning to the south, it skirted the

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\* Pennant's London, p. 6; from Camden.

Fleet Brook to the Thames, near which it was guarded by another fort. The circuit of the whole line, according to Stow's admeasurement, was two miles, and one furlong, nearly. Another wall, defended by towers, extended the whole distance along the banks of the Thames, between the two forts; but this, which measured one mile, and about 120 yards, was 'long since subverted,' says Fitz-Stephen, who lived in the reign of Henry the Second, 'by the fishful River, with its ebbing and flowing.' The walls were defended at different distances by strong towers and bastions; the remains of three of which, of Roman masonry, were in Maitland's time to be seen in the vicinity of Houndsditch and Aldgate. The height of the wall, when perfect, is thought to have been twenty-two feet; and that of the towers, forty feet. The superficial contents of the ground within the walls, has been computed to amount to about three hundred and eighty acres."

Dr. Woodward, who had an opportunity to examine the foundation of the Wall in Camomile Street, near the site of Bishopsgate, about the year 1707, says, that it lay about eight feet beneath the present surface; and that almost to the height of ten feet, it was compiled of rag-stone, with single layers of broad tiles interposed, each layer being at the distance of two feet from each other. The tiles were all of Roman make, and of the kind called *Sesquipedales*; or in English measure, 17 inches 4-10ths in length, 11 inches 6-10ths in breadth, and one inch 3-10ths in thickness.\* The mortar was so firm and hard,

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\* "It is remarkable," says Dr. Woodward "that the foot-

that the stone itself might as easily be broken: the thickness of this part, which was the whole that remained of the Roman masonry, was nine feet.

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rule followed by the makers of these bricks, was very nearly the same with that exhibited on the monument of *Cossutius* in the Colotian Garden of Rome, which that admirable mathematician, Mr. Greaves, has, with great reason, pitched upon as the Roman foot." Vide "*Letter*," from Dr. Woodward to Sir Christopher Wren.

From the remainder of the Doctor's account, it appears, that 'the wall was carried up to the height of about nine feet more, chiefly with rag-stone, having only a few bricks occasionally interposed, and that without regularity. On the outside the stone was squared and wrought into layers of five inches in thickness; between these were double courses of large bricks, eleven inches long, five broad, and two and a half thick: but not a single Roman tile; neither was the mortar of such strength and durability as that before mentioned. Another line of wall, erected upon the last, and composed of statuteable bricks, and having battlements coped with stone, rose to the height of eight feet more.'

Various Roman antiquities are described by Dr. Woodward, as having been discovered at the same time, and near the same spot, in digging some cellars. The principal of these was a tessellated pavement, lying about four feet below the level of the street, and situated only three feet and a half from the City wall. Its breadth was ten feet, and its length upwards of sixty: the colours of the tesserae were red, black, and yellow; scarcely any of them exceeding an inch in thickness. Four feet below the pavement, in a stratum of clay, various urns were discovered of different forms and sizes; the largest sufficiently capacious to hold three gallons; the least more than a quart. These contained ashes and burnt human bones: and with them were found a simpulum and patera of pure red clay, a lachrymatory of blue glass, several beads, copper rings, a fibula, and a coin of Antoninus Pius.

## LONDON STONE ; A ROMAN MILLIARY.

LONDON STONE, the *Lapis Milliaris* of the Romans, is a well-known remnant of antiquity, standing against the south wall of St. Swithin's Church, in Cannon Street, which connects with Watling Street, and was formerly a part of it. Though now reduced to a mere fragment, this is still an object of considerable interest with those who associate the recollection of past events and distant ages with existing monuments. In former times, this venerable remain was regarded with a sort of superstitious zeal, and, like the *Palladium* of Troy, the fate and safety of the City was imagined to be dependent on its preservation. Some small portion of its decay may be ascribed to the effects of time, but the chief mischief must have been committed by the hands of man.

Stow's description of London Stone is as follows : speaking of Walbrook, he says, " On the south side of this high street, neere unto the channell, is pitched upright a great Stone, called London Stone, fixed in the ground very deep, fastened with bars of iron, and otherwise so stronglie set, that if cartes do runne against it through negligence, the wheeles be broken, and the stone itselfe unshaken. The cause why this stone was there set, the verie time when, or other memory hereof, is there none; but that the same hath long continued there, is manifest, namely since, or rather before, the time of the Conquest. For in the end of a fayre written Gospell booke, given to Christes Church in Canterburie, by Ethelstane, King

of the West Saxons, I find noted of lands or rents in London, belonging to the said Church, whereof one parcel is described to lye near unto *London Stone*. Of later time we read that, in the year of Christ 1135, the 1st of King Stephen, a fire which began in the house of one Ailwarde, neare unto *London Stone*, consumed all east to Ealdgate, [Aldgate] in which fire the Priorie of the Holy Trinity was burnt, and west to S. Erkenwald's Shrine in St. Paul's Church : and those be the eldest notes that I read thereof.

“ Some have saide this Stone to have beene set as a marke in the middle of the Cittie within the walles ; but in truth, it standeth farre nearer unto the river of Thames than to the walls of the City. Some others have saide the same to bee set for the tendering and making of paymentes by debtors to their creditors at their appointed daies and times, till of later time, paymentes were more usually made at the font in Pontes Church, and nowe most commonly at the Royall Exchange. Some againe have imagined the same to bee set up by one John, or Thomas, *London-stone*, dwelling there against it ; but more likely it is, that such men have taken name of the Stone, rather than the Stone of them ; as did *John* at *Noke*, *Thomas* at *Stile*, *William* at *Wall*, or at *Well*, &c.”\*

Fabian has been quoted by different historians, namely, Strype, Maitland, and Malcolm, as noticing London Stone in the doggerel rhymes which he has

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\* “Survey of London ; edit. 1598, pp. 177-8.



attached, by way of Prologue, to the second volume of his “ Chronicle ;” yet, on referring to the original, it will be evident that London only was intended to be described. Rome, Carthage, and Jerusalem, says Fabian, have been ‘ caste downe,’ with ‘ many other *Cytyes,*’ yet

‘ *Thys*, so oldely founded,  
Is so surely grounded,  
That no man may confounde yt,  
It is so sure a Stone,  
That yt is upon sette,  
For though some have it thrette  
With Manasses, grym, and great,

Yt hurte had yt none :  
Chryste is the very Stone  
That the Citie is set upon ;  
Which from all hys foon  
Hath ever preserved it.  
By meane of dyvyne servyce,  
That in contynuall wyse  
Is kept in devout guyse  
Within the mure of yt.’

This ancient monument is mentioned by Holinshed, in his account of the insurrection of Jack Cade. When that rebellious chieftain of the populace, he says, had forced his way into the capital, he struck his sword upon London Stone, exclaiming, “ Now is Mortimer lord of this City ;”—as if, Pennant remarks, “ that had been a customary way of taking possession.”

Most of our antiquaries, since Camden’s time, consider this Stone as a Roman Milliary, or more pro-

perly, as the *Milliarium Aureum*,\* of Britain, from which the Romans began the measurement of their roads, as from a centre. This is stated to be confirmed by the exact coincidence which its distance bears with the neighbouring stations mentioned in Antonine's Itinerary." But Sir Christopher Wren was of opinion, as stated in the "*Parentalia*," that "by reason of its *large foundation*, it was rather some more considerable monument in the Forum ; for, in the adjoining ground to the south, upon digging for cellars after the Great Fire, were discovered some tessellated pavements, and other extensive remains of Roman workmanship and buildings."†

It is evident, from the above particulars, that London Stone was in former ages of much greater magnitude, and held in far higher estimation than at present. It was probably mutilated after the Great Fire, when its 'large foundations' were seen. Strype, who appears to consider it as anterior to the Roman times,‡

\* *Milliarium Aureum* fuit columna in capite fori Romani, sub Saturni æde, prope arcum Septimii, in quæ omnes Italiæ viæ incisæ finerunt, et a qua ad singulas portas mensuræ regionum currerunt. Plin. Lib. III. Cap. v.

† *Parentalia*, p. 265-6. "Probably this might in some degree have imitated the *Milliarium Aureum* at *Constantinople*, which was not in the form of a Pillar, as at *Rome*, but an eminent building ; for under its roof, according to Cedrenus and Suidas, stood the statues of Constantine and Helena ; Trajan ; an equestrian statue of Hadrian ; a statue of Fortune ; and many other figures and decorations." *Ibid.*

‡ "Survey," Vol. I. edit. 1720 ; B. II. p. 194.

speaks thus,—“ This Stone before the fire of London was much worn away, and as it were but a stump remaining. But it is now, for its preservation, cased over with a new stone handsomely wrought, cut hollow underneath, so as the old Stone may be seen, the new one being over it to shelter and defend the old venerable one.”\* The inclosing stone, which is shaped somewhat like a Roman altar, or pedestal, admits the ancient fragment, “ now not much larger than a bomb shell,” to be seen through a large elliptical aperture in front, near the top.

When Strype wrote, London Stone stood on the south side of the street ; but it was removed in December, 1742, to the opposite edge of the curb-stone on the north side. About the beginning of 1798, it underwent another removal : at that period, St. Swithin's Church was on the eve of undergoing a complete repair, and this venerable relic had, by some of the parishioners, been doomed to destruction as a nuisance ; but it was saved by the praise-worthy interposition of Mr. Thomas Maiden, a printer in Sherbourn Lane, who prevailed on one of the parish officers to have it placed against the Church-wall, on the spot which it now occupies.

#### ROMAN ANTIQUITIES IN LOMBARD STREET.

In excavating the ground to make a new Sewer beneath Lombard Street and Birchin Lane, in the autumn and winter of 1785, numerous *Roman Anti-*

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\* Strype's Stow, *ut supra*, p. 200.

*quities* were found, as coins, fragments of earthenware, tessellated and other pavements, glass, &c. of which a very particular account, from communications by different gentlemen, has been printed in the eighth volume of the "Archæologia," from which the ensuing particulars have been derived. The sewer was commenced towards that end of Lombard Street next the Mansion House; and near Sherbourn Lane, at the depth of twelve feet, a Roman pavement was found, 'composed of small irregular bricks, in length two inches, in breadth one and a half, mostly red, but some few black and white: they were strongly cemented with a yellowish mortar, and were laid in a thick bed of coarse mortar and stones.' The breadth of this pavement, from west to east, was about twenty feet; its length was not discovered. Between it and the Post Office, but on the north side of the sewer, was a wall constructed with 'the smaller-sized Roman bricks,' in which were two perpendicular flues; the one semicircular, the other rectangular and oblong:\* the height of the wall was ten feet, its length eighteen; the depth of the top of it from the surface, was also ten feet. Further on, opposite to the Post Office, was another wall, of the common kind, of Roman masonry; and near it, at the depth of nine feet, a pavement of thin flat tiles, each seventeen inches and 4-10ths in length, twelve inches and 3-10ths broad, and about three tenths of an inch in

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\* Would not this discovery imply, that the Romans introduced the use of Chimneys into Britain?

thickness. Beyond this, about a foot lower, was another pavement, much decayed, chiefly composed of red bricks about an inch square, with a few black bricks, and some white stones, irregularly intermixed.

This pavement, as well as most of the others, was laid on three distinct beds of mortar: the lowest very coarse, about three inches thick, and mixed with large pebbles; the second, of fine mortar, very hard, and reddish in colour, from having been mixed with powdered brick; this was about one inch in thickness, and upon it the bricks were embedded in a fine white cement.'

Many other fragments of walls and pavements were dug up in proceeding along Lombard-Street, together with burnt wood, and wood ashes, and many other things exhibiting marks of conflagration. Some of the walls were of rough stones, and others of chalk. Similar discoveries of walls and pavements were made in Birchin-Lane; together with one angle of a fine tessellated pavement, composed of black, red, green, and white squares, about a quarter of an inch in size, and forming a beautiful border: the extent of this pavement was not ascertained, as its course appeared to run below the adjacent footway and houses.

Fragments of Roman pottery, or earthenware, were found in abundance throughout the whole extent of the excavation, as well as Roman coins, and pieces of glass urns, bottles, &c. with Roman keys, and horns and bones of different animals. The earthenware was of various colours, red, brown,

grey, white, black, &c. some glazed and some not. Many of the fragments were of the fine coral-coloured ware, called Samian, and these were mostly ornamented with figures on the outside : some were impressed with names and inscriptions on the rims. The centre compartment of one beautiful vessel of red earthenware, (of which the principal fragments were found,) represented a combat, partly of naked figures, opposed to each other, and to two horsemen : the attitudes were very spirited, and the whole design in a good taste. On other fragments were represented armed men, satyrs, hares, dogs, birds, foliage, a boar's head, and fancy ornaments of various descriptions. Many handles of jugs, and pieces of round shallow vessels of coarse clay, which seemed to have measured about a foot in diameter when entire, with broad rims, having a channel across them to pour off the contents, were also found : the latter appeared to have been worn by trituration, as if they had been used for grinding some substance.

The coins were of various descriptions, gold, silver, and brass. Among them was a beautiful gold coin of Galba, a Nero, and an Antoninus Pius ; and a silver one of Alexander Severus. The others were brass ones of Claudius, Nerva, Vespasian, Dioclesian, Gallienus, Antonia, Constantinus, and Tetricus : nearly 300 of the two last Emperors were found together on one spot opposite to the end of St. Nicholas Lane ; the workmanship of which was extremely rude. These discoveries were all made within the depth of from nine to sixteen feet. In the more



recent depositions of soil above, some Nuremburg counters, coins of Elizabeth, and other relics of later times, were found ; but not any thing that seemed to belong to the Saxon period.\*

#### ROMAN TESSELLATED PAVEMENTS.

Many *Tessellated Pavements*, of Roman workmanship, have been found in London at different periods, and in such various situations as to shew that Roman buildings were scattered over great part of the area within the walls. The principal of those discoveries were made after the Great Fire, as recorded by Dr. Woodward, Bagster, Coniers, and others ; yet the descriptions given by those antiquaries are but slight and scanty.

In our own age, about the commencement of the present century, several pavements have been found within the City, and particularly one, in Leadenhall Street, opposite to the East India House, which was the most beautiful of the whole, and of which a coloured engraving was published by Thos. Fisher, Esq. from a drawing by himself, to whose pen we are indebted for the following description.

“ The *Tessellated Pavement* in Leadenhall Street was discovered in December, 1803, at the depth of nine feet six inches below the carriage-way, in searching for a sewer opposite to the easternmost columns of the

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\* The account of these discoveries in the *Archæologia* is illustrated by several engravings, in which many fragments of pottery, vessels, urns, coins, &c. are represented.

portico of the East India House. The whole eastern side had been before cut away, probably at the time of the making the sewer: what remained was about two-thirds of the floor of an apartment of uncertain dimensions, but evidently more than twenty feet square. The ornamented centre, although not quite perfect, appeared also to have been a square of eleven feet: the device which occupied it, was a highly-finished figure of Bacchus, who was represented reclining on the back of a tyger, his thyrsus erect in his left hand, and a small two-handed Roman drinking-cup pendant from his right: round his brow was a wreath of vine leaves: his mantle, purple and green, falling from his right shoulder, was thrown carelessly round his waist; and his foot guarded with a sandal, the lacing of which extended to the calf of the leg. The countenance of Bacchus was placid, his eyes well set, and all his features, (as well as the beast on which he was riding,) were represented with much freedom of design, and accuracy of delineation, in appropriate tints. Round the circle which contained the above, were three borders of different patterns; the first exhibited the inflexions of a serpent, black back, and white belly, on a party-coloured field, composed of dark and light grey, and red, ribands; the second consisted of indented cornucopiæ in black and white; and the third of squares diagonally concave. In two of the angles, which were formed by the insertion of the outer circle in the inner square border, was represented the Roman drinking-cup on a large scale; and in the counter angles, were delineations of a plant, but too rude to be designated: these were wrought in dark grey, red, and black, on a white ground. The inner square border bore some resemblance to a bandeau of oak, in dark

and light grey, red and white, on a black ground. The outer border consisted of eight lozenge figures, with ends in the form of hatchets in black, on a white ground, inclosing circles of black, on each of which was the common ornament, a true lover's knot. The whole was environed by a margin at least five feet broad, of plain and red tiles an inch square. This pavement was bedded on a terras of lime and brick-dust, an inch in thickness ; but the hazard which would have attended digging deeper, prevented the inquiry whether any considerable sepulchral remains were deposited beneath it, as was the case in Camomile Street. This pavement was taken up at the charge of the East India Company, but broken to pieces in the process ; and the mutilated remains were deposited in their Library.\* A small fragment of an

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\* " In this beautiful specimen of Roman mosaic," says Mr. Fisher, " the drawing, colouring, and shadows, are all effected with considerable skill and ingenuity by the use of about twenty separate tints, composed of tessellæ of different materials, the major part of which are baked earths ; but the more brilliant colours of green and purple, which form the drapery, are glass. These tessellæ are of different sizes and figures, adapted to the situations they occupy in the design. They are placed in rows, either straight or curved, as occasion demanded, each tessella presenting to those around it a flat side : the interstices of mortar being thus very narrow, and the bearing of the pieces against each other uniform, the work in general possessed much strength, and was very probably, when uninjured by damp, nearly as firm to the foot as solid stone. The tessellæ used in forming the ornamented borders, were in general somewhat larger than those in the figures, being cubes of half an inch."

urn, and part of a jaw-bone, were found under one corner of the pavement ; and also foundations of Kentish rag-stone, and Roman bricks, in opening the ground on the opposite side of the street."

In 1805, another *Tessellated Pavement* was found in Lothbury, within the area now inclosed by the walls of the Bank, near the south-east angle. It was discovered on digging the foundations for some of the new buildings in that edifice, and was taken up entire, and presented by the Bank Directors to the British Museum. Of this also, a coloured engraving was published by Mr. Fisher, but it was extremely inferior in its design to the Leadenhall-Street Pavement. It has been thus described :

" The depth at which it lay was about eleven feet ; its situation about twenty feet westward from the westernmost gate of the Bank opening into Lothbury, and about the same distance south of the carriage-way. It consisted of the ornamented square centre, measuring four feet each way, of the floor of an apartment eleven feet square. Within a circle in the centre, is a figure apparently designed to represent four expanded leaves, perhaps acanthus, in black, red, and dark and light grey tessellæ, on a white field ; round this a line of black ; in the angles four leaves of black, red, and grey ; and a square bandeau border, similar to that mentioned in the former pavement, environed the whole : beyond this were tiles of an inch square, extending to the sides of the room. On examining the fragments of the marginal pavement which had been taken up with it, evident marks of fire were observed on the face of them ; and

to one piece adhered some ashes of burnt wood, and a small piece not quite burnt."

Few particulars are known of the other Pavements discovered at the beginning of this century; but their respective situations were in Broad Street, behind the Old Navy Pay Office; in Northumberland Alley, Fenchurch Street; and in Long Lane, Smithfield.

Of the Pavements formerly discovered, that near Bishopsgate, without the City walls, inspected by Dr. Woodward in 1707, has been already noticed (vide p. 16, note); another was found "deep under ground, in Holborn, near St. Andrew's Church," and a third "pretty deep in the earth," near Bush Lane, Cannon Street.\*

#### BRITISH AND ROMAN CEMETERIES IN AND NEAR LONDON.

Numerous remains of the *Sepulchral usages* of our British and Roman ancestors, but chiefly of the latter, have been discovered within the City and its immediate vicinity. It would seem, indeed, that a considerable space of ground in the eastern quarter, beyond the walls, had been set apart by the Romans as one grand cemetery; it being an express provision of the "Laws of the Twelve Tables," that no person should be buried within their Cities. And it would conduce to the general good, by improving the

healthfulness of the capital, if our own legislature were to enact a statute for a like purpose.

The earliest of these discoveries that we are acquainted with, was made in Spittle Fields, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and it is thus fully noticed by Stow :—

“ On the east side of this Church-yard, [St. Mary Spittle] lyeth a large field, of old time called *Lolesworth*, now *Spittlefield*, which about y<sup>e</sup> yeere 1576, was broken up for clay to make brick: in the digging thereof many earthen pots called *Vrneæ*, were found full of ashes, and burnt bones of men, to wit, of the Romanes that inhabited here. For it was the custome of the Romanes, to burne their dead, to put their ashes in an vrne, and then burie the same with certain ceremonies, in some field appointed for that purpose neere vnto their City.

“ Euery of these pots had in them (with the ashes of the dead) one piece of copper money, with the inscription of the Emperour then raigning; some of them were of Claudius, some of Vespasian, some of Nero, of Anthonius Pius, of Traianus, and others. Besides those vrnes, many other pots were found in the same place, made of a white earth, with long necks, & handles, like to our stone jugs: these were emptie, but seemed to be buried full of some liquid matter, long since consumed and soaked through. For there were found diuers vials, and other fashioned glasses, some most cunningly wrought, such as I haue not seene the like, and some of Christall, all which had water in them, nothing differing in clearnes, taste, or sauour from common spring water, whatsoever it was at the first. Some of these glasses had oyle in them very thicke, and earthy in sauour. Some were supposed to haue balme in them,



but had lost the vertue: many of these pots and glasses were broken in cutting of the clay, so that few were taken vp whole.

“ There were also found diuers dishes and cups, of a fine red coloured earth, which shewed outwardly such a shining smoothnesse, as if they had beene of Curral. Those had (in the bottomes) Romane letters printed; there were also lampes of white earth and red, artificially wrought with diuers Antiquities about them, some three or foure Images, made of white earth, about a span long each of them: one I remember was of Pallas, the rest I haue forgotten. I myself haue reserued (amongst diuers of those antiquities there) one vrne, with the ashes and bones, and one pot of white earth very small, not exceeding the quantity of a quarter of a wine pint, made in shape of a hare, squatted vpon her legs, and betweene her eares is the mouth of the pot.

“ There hath also beene found (in the same field) diuers coffins of stone, containing the bones of men: these I suppose to be the burials of some speciall persons, in time of the Brytans, or Saxons, after that the Romanes had left to gouerne here. Moreouer, there were also found the sculs and bones of men, without coffins, or rather whose coffins (being of great timber) were consumed. Diuers great nayles of iron were there found, such as are vsed in the wheelles of shod carts, being each of them as bigge as a mans finger, and a quarter of a yard long, the heads two inches ouer. Those nayles were more wondred at then the rest of the things there found, and many opinions of men were there vttered of them, namely, that the men there buried, were murdered by driuing those nayles into their heads; a thing unlikely for a smaller nayle would more aptly serue to

so bad a purpose, and a more secret place would lightly be employed for such buriall.”\*

Some other discoveries made in the same field, during the time of James the First, are mentioned by the learned Dr. Meric Casaubon, in his Latin tract on *Credulity*. He says that he went thither when a boy, and saw one of the graves newly opened, in which a large skull and some coins were found. The former had been broken in digging, and the pieces scattered, and partly taken away; but “being observed to be beyond the ordinary size, the King was acquainted with it, who appointed that the pieces should be retrieved as many as might be, and

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\* “Survey of London,” edit: 1618; pp. 323, 325. Respecting the nails, Stow adds, “But to set downe what I haue obserued concerning this matter, I there beheld the bones of a man lying (as I noted) the head north, the feet south, and round about him (as thwart his head, along both his sides, and thwart his feete) such nayles were found. Wherefore I coniectured them to be the nayles of his coffin, which had beene a trough, cut out of some great tree, and the same couered with a planke of a great thickenesse, fastened with such nayles, and therefore I caused some of the nayles to be reached vp to me; and found vnder the broad heades of them, the old wood, skant turned into earth, but still retaining both the graine and proper colour. Of these nayles (with the wood vnder the head thereof) I reserued one, as also the nether iaw-bone of the man, the teeth being great, sound, & fixed, which (amongst many other monuments there found I haue yet to shew; but the nayle lying dry, is by scaling greatly wasted.”

set together : which was done, and then being drawn out according to art, the proportion equalled a bushel in the compass of it." Casaubon conceived this to have been a giant's skull, but other persons, with far greater probability, supposed it to be that of an elephant.\*

A curious Roman ossuary, or urn, of glass, which had, also, been found in Spital-fields (most probably in the ancient burial-place before mentioned) was presented to the Royal Society by Sir Christopher Wren, and is described in the "*Parentalia*," as sufficiently capacious to contain a gallon and a half." "It was encompassed by five parallel circles, and had a handle and a very short neck, with a wide mouth, of a white metal."

Another *Cemetery* was discovered in 1615, in what is now called *Sun Tavern Fields*, at Shadwell, where formerly gravel was dug up for ballasting ships. Here were found divers urns ; a coin of Pupienus, (who associated with Balbinus against Maximus, and was slain with him, in a revolt of their own soldiers, about the year 237 ;) and two Coffins, "one whereof, being of stone, contained the bones of a man ; and the other, of lead, beautifully embellished with escallop shells, and a crotister border, contained those of a woman, at whose head and feet were placed two urns, of the height of three feet each ; and at the sides divers beautiful red earthen bottles, with a number of lachrymatories of hexagon and octagon forms ; and on each

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\* Strype's Stow, B. ii. p. 99.

side of the inhumed bones were deposited two ivory sceptres, of the length of eighteen inches each ; and upon the breast, the figure of a small Cupid, curiously wrought, as were likewise two pieces of jet, resembling nails, of the length of three inches."\*

In excavating the ground for the foundations of the present St. Paul's Cathedral, on the north and north east sides, Sir Christopher Wren discovered the remains of another *Cemetery*, of which the following particulars are given in the "Parentalia" from his own notes.

"Under the graves of the later ages, in a row below them, were the burial-places of the Saxon times. The Saxons, as it appeared, were accustomed to line their graves with chalk-stones ; though some, more eminently, were entombed in coffins of whole stones. Below these were British graves, where were found ivory and wooden pins, of a hard wood, seemingly box, in abundance, of about six inches long. It seems the bodies were only wrapped up, and pinned in woollen shrouds, which being consumed, the pins remained entire. In the same row, and deeper, were Roman urns intermixed. This was eighteen feet, or more, and belonged to the Colony when the Romans and Britons lived and died together. The more remarkable Roman urns, lamps, lachrymatories, fragments of sacrificing vessels, &c. were found deep in the ground, towards the north-east corner, near Cheapside: these were generally well wrought, and embossed with various figures and devices. Among those preserved, were a fragment of a vessel in the shape of a bason, whereon Charon is represented with his oar in

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\* Malcolm's "Lond. Red." Vol. IV. p. 566, from Weever.

his hand, receiving a naked ghost ; a *patera sacrificalis*, with the inscription PATER. CLO. ; a remarkable small urn, of a fine hard earth, and leaden colour, containing about half a pint ; many pieces of urns, with the names of potters embossed on the bottoms ; a sepulchral earthen lamp, figured with two branches of palms, supposed Christian ; and two lachrymatories of glass."

Most of the above remains were found about a clay-pit (under the north-east angle of the present choir) which had been dug by the Roman potters, " in a stratum of close and hard pot-earth, that extends beneath the whole site of St. Paul's, varying in thickness four to six feet." Here " the urns, broken vessels, and pottery-ware," were met with in great abundance.

When Bishopsgate Church was rebuilt, about the year 1725, several urns, pateræ, and other remains of Roman antiquities, were discovered, together with a coin of Antoninus Pius, and a vault, arched with equilateral Roman bricks, fourteen feet deep, and within it two skeletons. Dr. Stukeley, also, saw there, in 1726, (as appears from the Minutes of the Society of Antiquaries,) a Roman grave, constructed with large tiles, twenty-one inches long, which kept the earth from the body.

Many other sepulchral remains were found in digging the foundations of the Church of St. George in the East, near Goodman's Fields, in the year 1715 : and when the Tenter Ground there was converted into a garden in 1787, several fragments of urns, and lachrymatories, were dug up about seven feet below the

surface, together with an inscribed Roman sepulchral stone.

When the foundations of the new Church of St. Martin in the Fields were dug, in 1722, a Roman brick arch was found, with several ducts, fourteen feet under ground; and Gibbs, the architect, said, that, "Buffaloes heads" were also dug up there. Sir Hans Sloane, likewise, had a glass vase, bell-shaped, that was found in a stone coffin, among ashes, in digging the foundations of the portico.

In June 1774, in laying the foundations of a sugar-house in the parish of St. Mary at Hill, two earthen vessels were found buried beneath the brick pavement of an old cellar; these contained an abundance of small Saxon coins of silver, and some Norman ones; most of them were pennies of Edward the Confessor; and others of Harold the Second, and William the Conqueror. On digging still deeper, human bones, both of adults and children, were found, together with fragments of Roman bricks, and coins of Domitian of the middle brass.\*

#### ROMAN CAMPS AND FORTRESSES.

The *Prætorian Camp* is considered by our best Antiquaries to have occupied the eminence on which St. Paul's now stands; and that it extended westward to Ludgate and the City-wall. In the vallum of the camp, near Ludgate, a sepulchral stone was dug up after the Great Fire, and is now preserved among

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\* Vide "Archæologia," Vol. iv. p. 356.



the Arundelian marbles at Oxford. The stone, which is much mutilated, has the figure of a soldier, and the following inscription sculptured on it.

D. M.  
VIVIO MARCI  
ANO ML. LEG. II.  
AVG. IANVARIA  
MARINA C°NIVNX  
PIENTISSIMA POSV  
IT ME MORAM.

This was a sepulchral memorial erected by *Januaria Matrina*, in memory of *Vivius Marcianus*, her husband, a Roman soldier of the second legion. "His sculpture," says Pennant, "represents him as a British soldier, probably of the *Cohors Britonum*, dressed and armed after the manner of the country, with long hair, a short lower garment, fastened round the waist by a girdle and fibula, a long *Sagum*, or plaid, flung over his breast and one arm, ready to be cast off in time of action, naked legs, and in his right hand a sword of vast length, like the *clymore* of the later Highlanders; the point is represented as resting on the ground: in his left hand is a short instrument, with the end seemingly broken off."\*

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\* Pennant's "London," p. 10, edit. 1805. There is an incorrect representation of the above sculpture in Gale's "Iter Anton," p. 68; and another, of superior accuracy, in Horsley "Britannia Romana," tab. 75, from Dr. Prideaux's "Arundelian Marbles."—It was customary with the Romans to bury their soldiers in the *Vallum* of their fortified towns, and their citizens in the *Pomærium*, which was a space on the outside of the fortifications, on which all buildings were prohibited.

Near the same spot, in July 1806, several other vestiges of Roman sculpture were discovered in making some new accommodations at the back of the London Coffee House, with stands on part of the site of Ludgate. They were found within the ruins of the ancient wall of London, between the remains of a circular stair-case and a circular tower ; and consisted of the trunk of a statue of Hercules, half the size of life, the figure resting on his club, with the lion's skin cast over the left shoulder ; the mutilated head of a woman ; and a sexagon pedestal, about three feet eleven inches high : the upper part of the pedestal was sculptured with foliage, and it had a corresponding base and cornice. In front was the following inscription :

D. M.  
CL. MARTI.  
NAE. AN. XI  
ANENCLE  
TVS  
PROVINC.  
CONIVGI  
PIENTISSIME  
H. S. E.\*

This was read by Mr. Gough as follows : *Diis Manibus ; Claudinæ Martinæ ; Annorum xi, Anencletus Provincialis Conjugi Pientissimæ hoc Sepulchrum, or hanc Statuam, erexit.* By the term *Provinciales*, as appears from various inscriptions in Grævius, is to

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\* A print of the above antiquities was given in the "Gent.'s Mag," soon after the discovery.

be understood men raised in the province where the Romans were stationed.

Another Roman *Fort* is supposed to have occupied a portion of the site of the Tower ; but there is not the least cause for attributing its erection to Cæsar, as sometimes has been done. The opinion that the Romans had a fortress there was corroborated by some discoveries made in September, 1777, by workmen employed in digging the foundations of a new office for the Board of Ordnance. At a very considerable depth they came to some foundations of ancient buildings, below which, on the natural ground, was a silver ingot, and three gold coins. The ingot was in form of a double wedge, four inches long, and weighed ten ounces, eight grains, troy : on the centre was impressed, “ EX. OFFIC. HONORII,” in two lines. One of the coins was also of the Emperor Honorius ; the others of Arcadius, his brother, who reigned over the Empire of the East, as Honorius did over the West, at the same time : these were in excellent preservation, and each of them weighed the sixth part of a Roman ounce, or seventy-three grains, troy. A ring, supposed to have been made of a shell, a small glass crown, and an inscribed stone, two feet eight inches by two feet four, were also found at the same depth. The inscription was as follows :

DIS' MANB' T. LICINI ACAN'VS F \*

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\* “ Archæologia,” Vol. V. p. 291. Dr. Milles, Dean of Exeter, the President of the Society of Antiquaries, who communicated an account of the discovery, supposed the

A Roman *Specula*, or Watch-tower (the *Castrum Exploratorium* of Stukeley's Itinerary) stood without London, near the north-west angle of the walls, and was called, in the Saxon times, the *Burghkenning*, or *Barbican*, which gave name to the present street leading from Aldersgate-street to Whitecross-street.

In the fields, about midway between White Conduit House and Copenhagen House, near Islington, are considerable remains of an ancient *Camp*, traditionally said to have been occupied by Suetonius Paulinus, about the period of Bonduca's bold attempt to deliver her country from Roman thralldom. It has been conjectured, also, that the Roman garrison of London had a *Summer Camp* on the eminence of Highbury, beyond Islington; and Dr. Stukeley has assigned to the Romans under Cæsar, the construction of another vast *Encampment*, at Pancras, called the *Brill*; of which he has given a plan, with a long description, in the second volume of his Itinerary. There is not, however, sufficient historical authority to support the Doctor's hypothesis.

#### ROMAN TEMPLES OF DIANA AND APOLLO.

Tradition has long rendered the opinion popular that the Romans had a Temple for Pagan worship on

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coins to have been minted at Constantinople, and to have been part of the money transmitted to pay the last legion ever sent to the assistance of the Britons. The coins were in fine preservation: on the reverse is an armed man treading on a captive; with the legend, "VICTORIA AUGC," and at the bottom "CUNOB."

the site of the present Cathedral of St. Paul; yet whether it was dedicated to *Jupiter* or to *Diana*, or whether such a building existed at all, has never been satisfactorily ascertained. Sir Christopher Wren, who had the best opportunity of any man for ascertaining the fact, at least in modern times, was entirely opposed to the current idea. His own words, when speaking of the *Temple of Apollo*, traditionally asserted to have stood on the site of the Abbey Church at Westminster, and to have been ruined by an earthquake in the time of the Emperor Antoninus Pius, are these: "Earthquakes break not stones to pieces; nor would the Picts be at that pains: but I imagine that the monks, finding the Londoners pretending a Temple of Diana where now St. Paul's stands, (horns of stags, and tusks of boars, having been dug up there in former times, and, it is said, also in later years,) would not be behind-hand in antiquity: but I must assert, that, having changed all the foundations of Old St. Paul's, and upon that occasion rummaged all the ground thereabouts, and being very desirous to find some footsteps of such a Temple, I could not discover any; and therefore can give no more credit to *Diana* than to *Apollo*."\*

Dr. Woodward, on the contrary, was fully impressed with the belief of *Diana* having a Temple upon this spot; and he informs us, that in his Collection were tusks of boars, the horns of oxen and of

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\* "Parentalia," p. 296.

stags, and sacrificing vessels with representations of deer, and even of Diana herself, upon them, all of which were dug up at St. Paul's Church. He also mentions a small brass figure of Diana, two inches and a half in height, which was found in digging between the Deanery and Blackfriars, and which "the best judges of different nations admitted to have all the characters of Roman work."\*

In the course of his argument, the Doctor endeavours to confute Bishop Stillingfleet, who in his "Discourse on the true Antiquity of London, and its state in the Roman times," published in the 2d part of his "Ecclesiastical Cases," considered a *Temple of Jupiter*, rather than of Diana, to have stood on the eminence which St. Paul's Cathedral now occupies.

Stow, mentioning the building of a new Chapel at St. Paul's, on the south side, between the Chapels of our Lady and St. Dunstan, states, that more than an hundred scalps of oxen or kine were found "in digging the foundation of this newe worke," in 1316; "which thing, (say they) confirmed greatly the opinion of those which have reported that, (of old time) there had beene a Temple of *Jupiter*, and that there was dayly sacrifice of beasts."†—

"Other some," continues Stow, "both wise and

\* For a full description of this figure, and a Dissertation on it, see Malcolm's Lond. Red. Vol. III. p. 509—12, printed from an unfinished manuscript by Dr. Woodward, in the possession of Alexander Chalmers, Esq. F. A. S.

† "Survey of London," p. 640, edit. 1618.



learned, have thought the Buck's Head, borne before the Procession of Pauls, on St. Paul's day, to signifie the like. But true it is, I have read an ancient Deed to this effect :

“ Sir William le Baud, Knt. the third of Edward the First, in the yeere 1274, on Candlemas day, granted to Harvy de Borham, Deane of Paul's, and to the Chapter there, that in consideration of twenty two Acres of ground, or land, by them granted within their mannor of Westley in Essex, to be inclosed in his Parke of *Curingham*,\* he would (for ever) upon the Feast day of the Conversion of Paul, in Winter, give unto them a good Doe, seasonable and sweete, and upon the Feast of the Commemoration of St. Paul in Summer, a good [fat] Bucke, and offer the same at the high Altar, the same to be spent amongst the Canons residents: the Doe to be brought by one man at the hour of Procession, and thorow the Procession to the high Altar; and the bringer to have nothing; the Buck to be brought by all his Meyney in like manner, and they to have payd unto them by the Chamberlaine of the Church twelpepence onely, and no more to be required.”—

This grant was explained and confirmed, (namely, on the Ides of July, 30th of Edw. 1st) by Sir William le Baud, the son and heir of the above, and it continued to be fulfilled till the reign of Queen Elizabeth.†

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\* Dugdale, who refers to the Deed as being in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, says *Toringham*. Vide, “ Hist. of St. Paul's,” p. 16; edit. 1658.

† Dugdale says, referring to Camden as his authority, that, till Queen Elizabeth's days, the reception of the Doe and

## ROMAN ROADS NEAR LONDON.

The Old *Watling*, or *Gathelin Street*, which led from Chester to Dover, and was the direct road from the former city to the imperial capitol Rome, did not, according to Dr. Stukeley, enter London, but in its course from St. Alban's, or *Verulam*, and Elstree, or *Suellaniacis*, crossed the *Oxford* road at Tyburn, and thence, as no-

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Bucke was solemnly performed at the steps of the Choir, "by the Canons, attired in their sacred vestments, and wearing garlands of flowers on their heads; and the horns of the Buck were carried on the top of the spear, in procession, round about, within the body of the Church, with great noyse of Horn Blowers."—*Ibid*, p. 17.

Stow is somewhat fuller on this subject: he says,—“Now, what I have heard by report, and have partly seene, it followeth.”—

“On the Feast day of the Commemoration of St. Paul, the Bucke being brought to the steps of the high altar in Paul's Church, at the houre of Procession, the Deane and Chapter, being apparelled in Coapes and Vestments, with Garlands of Roses on their heads, they sent the body of the Bucke to baking, and had the head fixed on a Pole, borne before the Crosse in their Procession, untill they issued out of the west doore, where the Keeper that brought it, blowed the death of the Bucke, and then the Horners that were about the Citie, presently answered him in like manner: For the which paines, they had each man, of the Deane and Chapter, foure pence in money and their Dinner; and the Keeper that brought it was allowed, during his abode there (for that service) meate, drinke, and lodging, at the Deane and Chapter's charges, and five shillings in money at his going away, together with a loafe of bread, having the picture of St. Paul upon it, &c.”—“London,” p. 641.

ticed by Higden, ran to the west of Westminster, over the “Thames,” and onwards into Kent. From Tyburn, says Stukeley, “I judge it goes over part of *Hyde-park*, and by *May-Fair*, through *St. James’s Park* to the street by old *Palace-Yard*, called the *Wool-Staple*, to the Thames: here has been an old Gate, one part of the arch is still left, but not *Roman*. On the opposite side of the river is *Stane-gate Ferry*, which is the continuation of this street to Canterbury, and so to the three famous sea-ports *Rutupiæ*, *Dubris*, and *Lemanis*.”\*

According to the same writer, the *Oxford Road* was originally carried by the north of London into Essex, crossing *St. Giles’s*, and being continued, probably, along *High Street*, *Bloomsbury*, *Red-Lion Fields*, and *Gray’s-Inn Gardens* to *Port-pool Lane*, and thence by *Castle-street* and *Vine-street*, across the *Fleet River*, to *Clerkenwell Green*, *Wilderness Row*, *Old-street*, &c. till it entered Essex at *Old-Ford* on the river *Lee*.

“As *Old-street* went on the north of London,” continues Stukeley, “so the proper *Watling Street* went on the south from *Stane-gate ferry* across *St. George’s Fields*, so south of the *Lock-hospital* [near *Kent Street*] to *Deptford* and *Blackheath*; and a small portion of the ancient way pointing to Westminster Abby is now the common road on this side nearest the turnpike, but the continuation of it is quite lost

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\* “*Itinerarium Curiosum*,” p. 113.

since the Bridge was made, and all roads meet at that centre as so many radii.\*

“ When London became considerable, the ferry over against it, from being better attended, rendered that at Stangate almost useless, so passengers went through the city by *Canon street*, *Watling street*, and *Holborn*, hence so little appears of it between Tyburn and the Lock Hospital, and, probably, its materials were long since wholly dug away to mend the highways. Upon this way, in Southwark, many Roman Antiquity’s have been found, particularly a Janus of stone, in possession of Dr. Woodward.”—

‘ The Oxford Road was originally carry’d north of London, in order to pass into Essex, because London then was not considerable, but in a little time became well nigh lost, and Holborn was struck out from it as conducting travellers thither, directly entering the city at *New-gate*, originally called *Chamberlain’s Gate*, and so to *London-stone*, the *Lapis milliarius*, from which distances are reckon’d, and hence the reason why the name of *Watling-street* is preserved in the city, tho’ the real Watling-street goes thro’ no part of it, but thro’ Southwark, or if we please we may call this a *vicinal* branch of the *Watling-street*.”†

Dr. Stukeley has illustrated his account of the Roman Roads, and of the presumed disposition of the

\* It must be recollected that Dr. Stukeley is here speaking of London Bridge, and not that at Westminster, which was not erected till many years after his decease.

† Ibid.

streets and principal buildings of Roman London, by an engraving, of which the annexed print is a copy. It requires but little explanation. The *Arx Palatina*, or Tower, he conceives to have been of Roman origin ; and the Churches of St. Helen, Bishopsgate, St. Mary Woolnoth, Lombard Street, and St. Mary de Arcubus, or Bow Church, Cheapside, were probably built upon the sites of Roman edifices, from the remains found in digging for foundations : so also, St. Paul's Cathedral. Stock's Market, where the Mansion House now stands, was, in his opinion, the Roman Forum, and centre of their city. In Goodman's Fields, and Spital Fields, as they were named in subsequent times, to the north-west and south-west of Eald-gate, or Aldgate, were Roman burying-places.

#### LONDON IN THE SAXON AND DANISH TIMES.

After the distractions of the Roman Empire, in the fourth, and early in the fifth centuries, had occasioned the withdrawing of the Roman soldiers from all the distant provinces, London for a short time reverted to the Britons, and, according to the "Saxon Chronicle," under 457, Vortimer fled hither with his army in "great feare, on his defeat by Hengist, near Crayford, in Kent. About eighteen or twenty years afterwards, Hengist obtained possession of London, but after his death, in 498, it was retaken by Ambrosius, and the Britons continued its masters during a considerable part of the following century. Mordred, the base nephew of King Arthur, is reputed to have been crowned here, about the year 532, after his treacher-

ous usurpation of his uncle's dominions. On the establishment of the Saxon Kingdom of Essex by the East Saxons, London became subject to that state, and in the time of King Sebert, about 610, *St. Paul's Cathedral* was founded by Ethelbert, King of Kent, his uncle, under the influence of St. Augustin, the "Apostle of the English." Bede, in mentioning this fact, describes London as an "Emporium of many nations, who arrived thither by land and by sea,"—yet this seems to apply rather to his own time, namely, the beginning of the eighth century, than to the time about which he was writing.\*

But very few notices of London appear to have been recorded during the confused period of the Saxon Heptarchy. It was ravaged by a plague in 664; and in 764, 798, and 801, it suffered greatly from fire; in that of 798, according to Simon of Durham, it was almost wholly burnt down, and numbers of the inhabitants perished.

"It has been stated by Noorthouck, and other writers on the history of this City, that on the union of the Saxon kingdom under Egbert, in 827, London was appointed to be the Royal residence; and Pennant says, that the great Alfred 'made it the capital of all England;' yet both those assertions are erroneous; for the seat of government, for more than two centuries after the period spoken of, was continued at Winchester, which having

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\* Bede's words are "*Londonia civitas est, super ripam præsati fluminis [Thamesis] posita, et ipsa multorum emporium populorum terra marique venientium.*"—Hist. Eccles. Lib. II. c. iii.



long been the residence of the West Saxon sovereigns, became naturally the metropolis of the kingdom after the Saxon states were rendered feudatory by Egbert. That London was still advancing in consequence, may, however, be presumed, from the circumstance of a *Wittena-gemot* having been held here in 833 (vide Spel. Con. under that date), to consult on the best means of repelling the Danes, who had now begun to desolate the country by their ravages. At that assembly, Egbert himself was present, together with Ethelwolf, his son, Withlaf, the tributary king of Mercia, and most of the prelates and great men of the realm ; yet their deliberations were but of little avail, for the Danes, who swarmed over the island like devouring locusts, plundered the city twice within the ensuing twenty years, and massacred numbers of its inhabitants. In the reign of Ethelred the First, the Danish invaders, who were continually reinforced by fresh bodies from beyond sea, obtained a permanent settlement in England ; though not until they had fought many desperate battles with that sovereign, and with the great Alfred, his brother. In the year 872, Alfred having recently succeeded to the crown, was constrained to make a treaty with the Danes, who, retiring to London, which they had again taken in the late wars, made it a place of arms, and garrisoned it. From that time it remained in their possession until about the year 884, when Alfred, who had been again obliged, by Danish perfidy, to have recourse to arms, compelled it to surrender after a short siege. Immediately afterwards, he repaired and strengthened the fortifications, and having also erected some additional towers, he conferred the government of the City, with extraordinary powers, on Ethelred, his

son-in-law, whom he at the same time made Earl of Mercia.\*

During the reigns of Edward the Elder and Athelston, this city progressively increased, both in political and maritime consequence, and the latter monarch had a *palace* here. He also ordained, in his laws respecting coinage, that there should be *eight* minters in London, seven at Canterbury, six at Winchester, three at Rochester, &c. from which it may be inferred that the trade and population of London were greater at that period than those of either of the other mentioned cities.

In 945, as appears from Brompton's Chronicle, Edmund the First convoked a *Wittenagemot* in London, for the settlement of ecclesiastical affairs; in 961, great numbers of the inhabitants were carried off by a malignant fever; and, in 982, the city was partly destroyed by a casual fire.

In the disastrous reign of Ethelred the Second, or the Unready, London was several times assaulted by the Danes, but the assailants were always repelled by the bravery of the inhabitants. That unwise king sought to stop the predatory incursions of those invaders by presenting them with large sums of money, and for that purpose, an oppressive tax, called

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\* Vide "Beauties of England," vol. x. p. i. from Asser, Florence of Worcester, Malmesbury's *de Gest. Reg.*, and the Saxon Annals. Ethelred is supposed to have held London in *fee*, as, after his decease, it was delivered up, with Oxford, by his widow, the Princess Elfreda, to her brother, King Edward.

*Dane-gelt*, was imposed at a national council assembled in this city.

After the general and barbarous massacre of the Danes during an interval of peace, and on the eve of St. Brice's festival, in November, 1002, Sweyn, King of Denmark, in a dire spirit of revenge for the death of Gunhilda, his sister (who had married an English earl, and fell under the cruel policy of Ethelred), carried fire and desolation through almost every part of the island ; and when, at length, he had satiated his vengeance, and returned to Denmark, the work of destruction was still continued by fresh bodies of his countrymen. Domestic treason augmented the general calamity, and Ethelred, who had lost nearly the whole of his dominions, except London, once more bribed the Danes into tranquillity by the surrender of sixteen counties, and the payment of the enormous sum, in those days, of 48,000*l*. This sacrifice obtained him but a short respite, for, in the same year, 1013, the Danish king returned with a powerful fleet, and landing in the Humber, advanced southwards, and invested London, wherein Ethelred had taken refuge. The Citizens bravely defended themselves, and Sweyn being ill-provided for a long siege, drew off into Wessex ; but, shortly after, he again marched towards London, and, whilst making preparations to re-invest it with additional vigour, was informed that Ethelred, who dreaded to fall into the hands of his mortal foe, had retired to Normandy, with all his family. Thus deserted, the Londoners, to avert the menaced destruction, opened their gates

to the Danes;\* and, soon after, Sweyn was proclaimed King of England, no person daring to dispute his assumption of that dignity.

On the decease of Sweyn, in 1014, London threw off the yoke of bondage, and Ethelred was recalled, after promising to govern justly, and with less tyranny. In 1016, Knut, or Canute, Sweyn's son and successor, who had been absent in Denmark, making extensive preparations to re-invade this country, again returned, and in the course of that year he three times laid siege to London, but each time without success, the exertions of its inhabitants having been bravely seconded by the gallant Edmund Ironside, who had been crowned king on the death of Ethelred, his father, amidst the fervent acclamations of the citizens. This was the first coronation recorded to have been solemnized in this metropolis. It was, probably, during the second siege, that Canute caused a deep and broad trench, or canal, to be cut through the marshes on the south side of the Thames, in order to carry up his ships to the west side of *London Bridge*, which he could not otherwise pass, the inhabitants having strongly fortified it. The "Saxon Chronicle" thus speaks of this event:—"Then came the ships to Greenwich, and, within a short interval, to London, where they sank a deep

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\* Malmesbury has remarked, that the Londoners did not abandon the King till he fled himself, and thus speaks of them in high panegyric: "Laudandi prorsus viri et quos Mars ipse collata non sperneret hasta si ducem habuissent."

ditch on the south side, and dragged their ships to the west side of the Bridge. Afterwards they trenched the city about, so that no man could go in nor out, and often fought against it, but the citizens bravely withstood them."\*

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\* Maitland, in his "History of London, p. 26, edit. 1739, states, from "his own observations and enquiries," that the trench, dug by Canute, had its outfall "at the great wet dock below Rotherhithe, and was carried across the Deptford Road, near the bottom of Kent-street, towards Newington Butts, and thence by Kennington, "through the Spring Garden at Vauxhall," to its influx with the Thames "at the lower end of Chelsea Reach." To this it has been objected, by the Rev. J. Entick, editor of the last edition of Maitland, vol. i. p. 35, that the time, expense, and needless labour, attending the excavation of a channel so very circuitous as that described, must be great obstacles to the opinion of its having been made by Canute; and that the greater probability is, that the real direction of Canute's trench was "from Dockhead, in a much smaller semicircle, [than the one described,] by St. Margaret's Hill, in Southwark, to St. Saviour's Dock above bridge."

In a letter from Dr. Wallis, dated 24th October, 1669, to Mr. Pepys, is the following passage relating to this ancient trench:—"I had one Sunday preached for Mr. Gataker, at Redriff, and lodged there that night. Next morning, I walked with him over the fields to Lambeth, meaning there to cross the Thames to Westminster. He shewed me, in the passage, diverse remains of the old channel, which had heretofore been made from Redriff to Lambeth, for diverting the Thames whilst *London Bridge* was *building*, all in a straight line, or near it, but with great intervals, which had been long since filled up: those remains, which then appeared



In the final division of the kingdom between Edmund and Canute (after several severe battles, in which victory was repeatedly chased from the English standard by the base treachery of Edric Streon, Edmund's foster-father), London was retained by the former, and very soon after, it became the scene of his deplorable assassination, to which Edric had been excited by Canute.\* In the following year, the traitorous assassin was himself put to death by order of Canute; but there is a remarkable discrepancy in our old chronicles, as to the manner of his execution. He is said to have been hanged, to have been strangled, to have been beheaded, and to have been struck down by a battle-axe in the royal palace, and his body thrown from the window into the River Thames: the last account appears to be regarded as the most correct.†

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very visible, are, I suspect, all, or most of them, filled up before this time, for it is more than fifty years ago, and people in those marshes would be more fond of so much meadow grounds, than to let those lakes remain unfilled; and he told me of many other such remains which had been within his memory, but were then filled up." Vide "Memoirs of Samuel Pepys;" Correspondence, vol. v. p. 302, 8vo. edit.

\* See Turner's "History of the Anglo-Saxons," vol. i. p. 428, 4to.

† Ibid. pp. 433 and 434. Stow, in his "Annals," p. 115, referring to Marianus as his authority, speaks thus of Edric: "Some say, hee was tormented to death wyth fire-brandes and linkes. Some say one way, some another; but dispatched he was; for the King feared, through his treason, to



On the death of Edmund the entire sovereignty was claimed by Canute, and eventually awarded to him in a general Council, assembled at London in 1017, and he retained the crown till his decease, in November, 1035. After that event, a *Wittenagemot* was held at Oxford, to determine on the succession, in which the *Lithsmen* of London were assembled with the Thanes.\*

During the reign of Edward the Confessor, (who had been chosen to succeed his half-brother, Hardicanute, at a general council held in this city, in 1041,) the importance of London was much advanced, and from the circumstance of Edward's erecting a new and splendid *Palace* at Westminster, and re-building the Abbey Church there, it gradually acquired such high importance as to be thenceforth universally considered as the metropolis of the kingdom.

In the year 1066, after the defeat and death of Harold, Earl Godwin's son, who, by the influence of his father, had been raised to the crown on the decease of Edward, the victorious William the Norman advanced towards London, but a majority of the in-

be circumvented of his kingdome, as his predecessors had been before. His bodie hee caused to be layde foorth on the wall of the Citie, there to remayne unburied to bee seene of all men." See also, "Londiniana," vol. iv., p. 35.

\* Bishop Gibson, in his translation of the Saxon Chronicle, has rendered the appellation *Lithsmen* by the word *Nautæ*, or seamen; yet the probability is, that they were rather a superior rank of municipal officers.

habitants having declared for the Saxon, Edgar Atheling (in right of his hereditary descent), through the spirited efforts of the Earls of Mercia and Northumberland, he was opposed, in Southwark, by a detachment which sallied from the City. The assailants were repulsed, with considerable slaughter, by the Norman horse, and Southwark was laid in ashes. But the Londoners still refusing to open their gates, Duke William proceeded along the banks of the Thames, and took post at Wallingford, from which fortress he directed different bodies of his troops to ravage the adjoining counties, and prevent the capital from obtaining supplies.

The Earls Morcar and Edwin still laboured to animate the English people to a determined resistance; but all their endeavours were counteracted by the base counsels of the Clergy, who, with the Archbishops of Canterbury and York at their head, wrought such an effectual opposition, that the frustrated chieftains quitted the City, and retired into the north. Immediately afterwards, the leading prelates repaired to Berkhamstead, and swore fealty to the Duke, as though he had already been their sovereign; and this degrading example having been quickly imitated by many persons of rank and consequence, and, at length, even by Edgar Atheling himself, the Londoners were, at last, drawn into the vortex. A deputation of the Magistracy was appointed to meet the Duke, and to present him with the keys of the City, which he soon afterwards entered. Fearing a sudden reverse, he had a fortress constructed in

haste, and garrisoned it with Norman soldiers.\* On the Christmas day following, he was solemnly crowned king of England, at the tomb of Edward the Confessor, in Westminster Abbey; the magistrates of London, conjointly with the prelates and nobility, having, according to Ingulphus, William of Malmesbury, Matthew Paris, and other historians, “*invited him*” to accept that title.

CHARTER GRANTED TO THE CITY BY WILLIAM THE  
CONQUEROR.

This successful Chief, whom the unwary yet valiant conduct of King Harold had been a leading cause of his elevation to the throne, affected, at the commencement of his reign, to govern the kingdom by the principles of justice and clemency. This was done with a view to the consolidation of his power whilst his new subjects were yet unsettled, and unaccustomed to the feudal yoke. One of his earliest measures to conciliate the Londoners was, to grant them a new charter to secure their privileges, which he did in the following terms, in the year 1067, at the solicitation of Geoffrey, Bishop of London, who

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\* On the re-building of St. Paul's Cathedral, by Maurice, Bishop of London, after its destruction by fire, with great part of the City, in the year 1088, “King William,” says Stow, “gave toward the building of the east end of this church, the choyce stones of his castell, standing neare to the banke of the River Thames, at the west ende of the Citie,”

was a Norman by birth, but had been promoted to this see by King Edward the Confessor.

*‘Willm. kyng gret Willm. bisceop & Gosfregth, porterefan & ealle tha burhwaru binnan Londone Fren-cisce & Englisce freondlice. And ic kythe eow that ic wille, that get beon callra thæra laga weorth the gyt weran on Eadwerdes dæge kynges. And ic wylle thæt ælc cyld beo his fæther yrfnume æfter his fæther dæge. And ic nelle gewolian that ænig man eow ænig wrang beode. God eow gehealde.’*

In English thus: William the King greeteth William the Bishop, and Godfrey the Portreve, and all the Burgesses within London, friendly. And I acquaint you that I will that ye be all there law-worthy, as ye were in King Edward's days. And I will that every child be his father's heir, after his father's days. And I will not suffer that any man do you wrong. God preserve you.

This charter, which is beautifully written in the Saxon character and language, is still preserved among the City archives; it consists of but little more than four lines, written on a slip of parchment, six inches long, and one broad.

#### OMISSION OF LONDON IN THE DOMESDAY BOOK.

It has been noticed as a remarkable fact, that the *Domesday Book*, which is usually so minute in respect to our principal towns and cities, should be wholly silent in regard to London. “It only mentions,” says Mr. Ellis, (in the quarto work, intituled “Modern London,” p. 15,) a Vineyard in Holborn, belonging

to the crown, and ten acres of land nigh Bishopsgate (now the manor of Norton-Falgate), belonging to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, "yet certainly," he continues, "no mutilation of the manuscript has taken place, since the account of Middlesex is entire, and exactly coincident with the abridged copy of the Survey, taken at the time, and now lodged in the office of the King's Remembrancer, in the Exchequer." But quære? Might not a distinct and independent survey of the City itself, have been made at the time of the general survey, although since lost or destroyed, if not yet remaining among the unexplored archives of the crown?

MEMOIR OF WILLIAM FITZ-STEPHEN.—DESCRIPTION  
OF THE CITY OF LONDON IN HENRY THE  
SECOND'S REIGN.\*

WILLIAM FITZ-STEPHEN, called also *Stephanides* and *Cantuariensis*, was born of respectable parents in London, most probably, during the reign of Henry the First, but the exact time has not been ascertained. He was a person of excellent learning for that age;

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\* This article has been principally derived from the Rev. Dr. Samuel Pegge's scarce and curious tract, intituled, "Fitz-Stephen's Description of London, newly Translated from the Latin Original," &c. 4to. 1772. In general, his own words have been retained, both in the text and in the notes, but the latter have been partly abbreviated, and those only attached which had a direct reference to the subject matter.



well versed in Horace, Virgil, Sallust, Ovid, Lucan, Persius, Macrobius, with many others of the Latin classics, and had even peeped into Plato, and some of the Greeks. In short, he appears to have been as intimately acquainted with the Ancients as Peter of Blois, Saxo Grammaticus, or John of Salisbury (to whom his *Life of Becket* has been erroneously attributed by Tanner), in whose age there was a bright scintillation of good learning for a time, far beyond what either went before or followed after. Leland informs us, that he travelled for his education into France, and that on his return, his erudition, which was conspicuous both as a classic and a divine, recommended him to the notice of the famous Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, whose servant he became, and with whom he grew particularly familiar. Of this intercourse Fitz-Stephen himself has thus written in the prologue (*"Authoris Prologis"*) to his *Life of the Archbishop*.

"I was a fellow Citizen with my Lord, one of his Clerks, and an inmate in his family ; and, as by express invitation I was called to his service, I became a remembrancer\* in his chancery, a sub-deacon in his chapel, whenever he officiated,† and when he sat to hear and determine causes, a reader of the bills and petitions ;

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\* The word in the original is "dictator," and as this signifies both a writer and a remembrancer (*vide* Du Fresne), it was thought (says Dr. Pegge) proper to render it by the latter term.

† It was customary for the great Prelates to officiate on all the high and principal festivals.



sometimes, when he was pleased to order it, I even performed the office of an advocate. I was present with him at Northampton, where the most important matters concerning him were agitated, and I was an ocular witness of his martyrdom [in the Cathedral] at Canterbury.”\*

Nothing further is known of this writer, than that he was a monk at Canterbury, and was dispatched once, at least, to the Holy Pontiff, who was then probably either at Rome or Benevento. His death is assigned by Bale to the year 1191.†

Fitz-Stephen is most known by his Description of the City of London, which forms the introduction to his “*Vita Sancti Thomæ, Archiepiscopi et Martyris* ;” and Lord Lyttelton, in his History of Henry the Second ;” speaks of many manuscripts of Becket’s Life, of which this tract was a part. There are likewise several manuscripts extant of the Description alone,‡ of which the edition published by Mr. Joseph

\* Besides Fitz-Stephen, there remained with the Archbishop, at the time of his murder (when Johannes Sariheriensis and the rest of his clerks had deserted him), Robert, canon of Merton, the Archbishop’s confessor, and Edward Grim, or Grime : the latter evidenced his devotion to the Prelate, by receiving the first stroke aimed at the Archbishop’s head with a sword, by William Tracy, on his own arm, by which he was dangerously wounded.

† “*Vixit regnante R. Stephano, scripsit regnante H. II. obiit regnante Richardo I. An. Dom. 1191.*” Edit. Hearne, p. 3.

‡ See Dr. Pegge’s Dissertation prefixed to his translation of this tract.

Sparke, in 1723, was the best, until Dr. Pegge collated the different printed authorities, and published his corrected edition in 1772. The author has, himself, mentioned his reason for inserting this unique sketch of the Metropolis in his account of Becket, in these words :

“Plato rempublicam oratione formavit,” &c.—“Plato dressed up a form of a republic in one of his works. Sallust, in his History, described the situation of Africa, on account of the Rebellion of the Moors, and the frequent expeditions of the Romans to subdue them: I also here, in regard of St. Thomas, shall present a View of the Site and Constitution of the City of London.”

It was the opinion of several antiquaries, that Fitz-Stephen wrote his Life of St. Thomas either about the end of Henry the Second's reign, or at the commencement of that of Richard Cœur de Lion; but Dr. Pegge, from various considerations, has assigned its probable date to the year 1174, which was four years subsequent to the Archbishop's death. The tract itself, as translated by our learned Antiquary (whose publication must be regarded as the *editio optima* of Fitz-Stephen), now follows.

*A Description of the most noble City of London.*

“Amongst the noble and famous cities of the world, this of London, the capital of the kingdom of England, is one of the most renowned, on account of its wealth, its extensive trade and commerce, its grandeur and magnificence. It is happy in the whole-

someness of its climate, in the profession of the Christian religion, the strength of its fortresses, the nature of its situation, the honour of its citizens, the chastity of its matrons, and even in the sports and pastimes there used, and the number of the illustrious persons that inhabit it. Of these particulars we shall exhibit a more distinct representation. There, then,

“Men’s minds are soften’d by a clement sky :”  
not so, however, as to make them prone to lasciviousness, but only to banish all rudeness and ferity by making them liberal and benevolent.

“The Episcopal See is at St. Paul’s Church : this was formerly metropolitical, and ’tis thought will be so again, should the citizens return into the island : unless the archiepiscopal rank of the Martyr St. Thomas, and his corporal presence there, should for ever appropriate that dignity to Canterbury, where it is now lodged. But as this Saint has ennobled both these cities, London by his birth, and Canterbury by his martyrdom, they both, in respect of this Saint, and, indeed, with justice, have much to allege reciprocally one against the other. In point of divine worship, there are in London and the suburbs thirteen large conventual churches, and one hundred and twenty-six parochial ones.

“On the east stands the Palatine tower,\* a fortress

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\* That is, the Tower of London. Dugdale and Wren are of opinion that there was a Palatine Tower within the City ; but the latter was destroyed long before the time of our author.

both large and strong, the walls and body of which are erected upon deep foundations, and built with a cement tempered with the blood of beasts. On the west are two Castles well fortified :\* and the city wall is both high and thick, with seven double Gates,† and many Towers or Turrets on the north side thereof,‡ placed at proper distances. London once had its walls and towers, in like manner, on the south ; but that vast river, the Thames, which abounds with fish, enjoys the benefit of tides, and washes the city on this side, hath, in a long tract of time, totally subverted and carried away the walls in this part. On the west, again, and on the bank of the river, the Royal Palace exalts its head, and stretches wide, an incomparable structure, furnished with bastions and a breastwork, at the distance of two miles from the City, but united to it, as it were, by a populous suburb.||

“ Adjoining to the buildings all round lie the gardens of those citizens who dwell in the suburbs, which

\* These were Baynard’s Castle, and the Castle of Montfichet, near the River Thames, on the south side of the city.

† The seven gates are supposed to have been Aldgate, Bishopsgate, Cripplegate, Aldersgate, Newgate, Ludgate, and the Postern-gate, near the Tower.

‡ According to Maitland, there were fifteen of these Towers, or Turrets, on the north side of the City wall : they were partly circular.

|| Although Fitz-Stephen speaks of Westminster being united to London by a populous suburb, yet the Strand was not altogether a continued street till long after his days. There was also the village of Charing interposed between the Strand and Westminster.

are well furnished with trees, are spacious, and beautiful.

“ On the north are corn-fields, pastures, and delightful meadows, intermixed with pleasant streams, on which stands many a Mill, whose clack is so grateful to the ear.\* Beyond them an immense Forest extends itself,† beautified with woods and groves, and full of the lairs and coverts of beasts and game, stags, bucks, bears, and wild bulls. The fields above-mentioned are by no means hungry gravel or barren sands, but may vie with the fertile plains of Asia, as capable of producing the most luxuriant crops, and filling the barns of the hinds and farmers,

‘ ——— with Ceres’ golden sheaf.’

“ Round the City, again, and towards the north, arise certain excellent Springs at a small distance, whose waters are sweet, salubrious, clear, and

‘ Whose runnels murmur o’er the shining stones.’

“ Amongst these, Holywell, Clerkenwell, and St. Clement’s Well, may be esteemed the principal, as being much the best frequented, both by scholars from the schools, and the youth of the City, when in a summer’s evening they are disposed to take an airing. This city, on the whole, is doubtless most

\* Hence *Turn-Mill* Brook. The River of Wells, or the Fleet River, was once a considerable stream.

† This was the Forest of Middlesex, of which Enfield Chase is thought to be a small remaining part. It was disafforested in the third year of Henry III.

charming, at least when it has the happiness of being well governed.

“In respect of the Inhabitants, the City may be proud of its inmates, who are well furnished with arms, and are numerous. In the time of the late war, when K. Stephen directed a muster, it turned out, of effective men, no less than twenty thousand horse, properly accoutred, and sixty thousand foot.\* The Citizens of London, everywhere, and throughout the whole kingdom, are esteemed the politest of all others, in their manners, their dress, and the elegance and splendour of their tables. Insomuch, that whilst the inhabitants of other cities are styled *Citizens*, they are dignified with the name of *Barons*; and with them an oath is the end of all strife. The matrons of the City are perfect *Sabines*.†

“The three principal Churches in London are privileged by grant and ancient usage with Schools,‡ and

\* This large army could not possibly have been formed of the inhabitants of London exclusively, at that period: but, probably, the City had been chosen for a general rendezvous of King Stephen's soldiers, as well as of the armed retinues of such of the Nobility as supported his usurpation.

† The *Sabine* women were eminent for their chastity, industry, and frugality; in short, as Mr. Pegge has remarked, for “every quality respectable in good housewives.”

‡ There is a diversity of opinion as to what Churches the schools here mentioned were attached. According to Strype, they were St. Paul's, the Priory of the Trinity, at Aldgate, and St. Martin-le-Grand. Others suppose, they were St. Paul's, the Abbey of Westminster, and St. Peter's, Cornhill. Mr. Pegge, after referring to Dugdale's “History of St.



they are all very flourishing. Often, indeed, through the favour and countenance of persons eminent in philosophy, more schools are permitted. On festivals, at those churches where the feast of the Patron Saint is solemnized, the masters convene their scholars. The youth, on that occasion, dispute, some in the demonstrative way, and some logically. These produce their enthymemes, and those the more perfect syllogisms. Some, the better to shew their parts, are exercised in disputation, contending with one another, whilst others are put upon establishing some truth by way of illustration. Some sophists endeavour to apply on feigned topics a vast heap and flow of words; others, to impose upon you with false conclusions. As to the orators, some with their rhetorical harangues, employ all the powers of persuasion, taking care to observe the precepts of art, and to omit nothing apposite to the subject. The boys of different schools wrangle with one another in verse; contending about the principles of grammar, or the perfect tenses and supines. Others there are, who,

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Paul's," p. 9, edit. 1658, in support of his conjecture, says, "it should seem that the three schools, intended by our author, were St. Paul's, Bow, and St. Martin's-le-Grand," as, "in King Stephen's time, none were permitted to teach school in the City of London without a license from Henry, [canon and] schoolmaster of St. Paul's, except the schoolmasters of St. Mary-Bow, and St. Martin's-le-Grand." This privilege was given to the said Henry by Henry de Blois, the famous Bishop of Winchester, brother to the King. Vide Dugdale, ut, sup.

in epigrams, or other compositions in numbers, use all that low ribaldry we read of in the Ancients; attacking their schoolmasters, but without mentioning names, with the old Fescennine licentiousness, and discharging their scoffs and sarcasms against them; touching the foibles of their schoolfellows, or perhaps of greater personages, with true Socratic wit, or biting them more keenly with a Theonine tooth: the audience, fully disposed to laugh,

‘ With curly nose ingeminate the peals.’

“ The followers of the several Trades, the venders of various Commodities, and the Labourers of every kind, are daily to be found in their proper and distinct places, according to their employments.\* And, moreover, on the bank of the River, besides the wine sold in ships and vaults, there is a public Eating-house or Cook’s-shop.† Here, according to the season, you may find victuals of all kinds, roasted, baked, fried, or boiled. Fish, large and small, with coarse viands for the poorer sort, and more delicate

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\* The names of many of our present streets, &c. may still be quoted in evidence of Fitz-Stephen’s accuracy, viz. *Cornhill*, *Bread-street*, *Fish-street-hill*, *Poultry*, *Vintry*, *Milk-street*, *Honey-lane*, *Wood-street*, *Hosier’s-lane*, *Cordwainer’s-street*, and many others.

† Leland (“*Collectanea*,” vol. iii. p. 421), gives this plurally, ‘*publicæ coquinæ*,’ and Stow calls it, with much propriety, a common *Cookery*, or *Cook’s Row*: vide London; p. 127, edit. 1618. In the margin is, “Cook’s-Row, in Thames-street.”

ones for the rich, such as venison, fowls, and small birds. In case a friend should arrive at a citizen's house, much wearied with his journey, and chooses not to wait, anhungred as he is, for the buying and cooking of meat,

‘ The water's serv'd, the bread's in baskets brought,’

and recourse is immediately had to the bank above-mentioned, where every thing desirable is instantly procured: No number so great, of knights or strangers, can either enter the city, at any hour of day or night, or leave it, but all may be supplied with provisions ; so that those have no occasion to fast too long, nor these to depart the City without their dinner. To this place, if they are so disposed, they resort, and there they regale themselves, every man according to his abilities. Those who have a mind to indulge, need not hanker after Sturgeon, or a Guinea fowl, or a *Gelinote de Bois* ;\* for there are delicacies enough to gratify their palates. It is a public eating-house, and is both highly convenient and useful to the City, and is a clear proof of its civilization. Hence, as we read in the *Gorgias* of Plato, ‘ *juxta medicinam esse cocorum officium, simulachrum, et adulationem, quartæ particulæ civilitatis.*’†

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\* Mons. Dacier interprets *une Gelinote de Bois*, by the ‘ *Red Game* :’ Strype calls it “ the rare *Godwit* of Iönia.” Strype’s *Stow*, vol. ii. Appendix, p. 13.

† This passage, says Mr. Pegge, I have not attempted to translate, as upon comparing it with the author [*Platonis Georgias*, p. 135, Routh], it appears to be maimed and imperfect, and

“ There is, also, without one of the City gates, and even in the very suburbs, a certain plain *Field*, such both in reality and name: \* here, every Friday, unless it should happen to be one of the more solemn festivals, there is a celebrated rendezvous of fine horses, brought thither to be sold. Thither come, either to look or to buy, a great number of persons resident in the City, Earls, Barons, Knights, and a swarm of Citizens. 'Tis a pleasing sight to behold the ambling nags so smoothly moving, by raising and putting down alternately, the two side-feet together. In one part, there are horses better adapted to Esquires, whose motion is rougher but yet expeditious: these lift up and lay down the two opposite fore and hind feet together.† In another, are the generous colts, not yet accustomed to the bridle,

‘ Which, proudly prancing, place their shapely limbs.’

“ In a third quarter are to be seen the horses for burthen, with their stout and strong limbs. And, in a fourth, the more valuable hackneys and charging steeds, beautiful in shape, noble of stature, with ears and necks erect, and plump buttocks. In the move-

unless some better manuscript will assist us, incurable. Strype translates it thus, “ Next to the Physician’s art is the trade of Cooks, the image and flattery of the fourth part of a city.”

\* Viz. *Smithfield*, which name signified a smooth plain, the prefix, *Smith*, being corrupted from the Saxon *smeth*, or *smooth*.

† Trotting horses are here meant.

ments of these, what the purchaser principally remarks, is, first, an easy pleasant walk, and then the gallop, which is, when the two fore-feet are raised and put down together ; and the hind-feet, in like manner, alternately with them. When a race is to be run by this sort of horses, and, perhaps, by others which also in their kind are strong and fleet, a shout is immediately raised, and the common horses are ordered to withdraw out of the way. Three jockies, sometimes only two, according as the match is made, prepare themselves for the contest (such as, being used to ride, know how to manage the horses with judgement) : the grand point is, to prevent a competitor from getting before them. The horses, on their parts, are not without emulation : they tremble, are impatient, and continually in motion ; and at last, the signal once given, they strike, devour the course, hurrying along with unremitting velocity. The jockies, inspired with the thoughts of applause, and the hopes of victory, clap spurs to the willing horses, brandish their whips, and cheer them with their cries. You would think, according to Heraclitus, that all things were in motion, and that the opinion of Zeno was certainly wrong, as he held there was no such thing as motion, and that it was impossible to reach the goal.\* To return to our Market : in another quarter, and apart from the rest, are placed the vendibles of the peasant ; implements of husbandry in all kinds ;

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\* This description of a horse-race is presumed to be the earliest known, as to this species of diversion in England.

swine with their deep flanks, and cows with their distended udders ;

“ Oxen of bulk immense ; the woolly tribe.”

“ There, also, stand the mares, adapted to the plough, the sledge, and the cart, of which some are big with young ; others have their foals running by their sides, wanton younglings, but inseparable from their dams.

“ To this city Merchants repair from every nation in the world, bringing their commodities by sea :

‘ Arabia’s gold, Sabæa’s spice and incense ;  
Scythia’s keen weapons ;\* and the oil of palms  
From Babylon’s deep soil ; Nile’s precious gems ;  
China’s bright shining silks ; and Gallic wines ;  
Norway’s warm peltry, and the Russian sables ;—  
All here abound.’

“ According to the evidence of ancient chronicles, London is much older than Rome, since deriving from the same original, viz: certain Trojan adventurers, this was founded by Brutus, before Rome was built by Romulus and Remus.† Hence, however, it is, that to this day, both cities use the same ancient laws and ordinances. This, as well as Rome, is distributed into regions [i. e. wards] ; it hath its annual Sheriffs insteads of Consuls ; it hath an order of Senators, with the proper inferior Magistrates ; its sewers and aqueducts in the streets ; and in respect of the Causes,

\* In the original, the words are “ *purpureas vestes.*”

† In this our author follows Geoffrey of Monmouth, “ *Hist. of Brit.*” L. I.



whether of the deliberative, the demonstrative, or the judicial kind, it hath its appropriate places, its peculiar courts, its burghmoots on the statutable days. I cannot imagine there is any city in which more laudable customs are observed ; such as frequenting churches for attendance on divine service, reverencing God's ordinances, keeping festivals, giving alms, maintaining hospitality, making espousals, contracting marriages, celebrating nuptials, ordering entertainments, welcoming guests, as also in the disposition of funeral solemnities, and the burial of the dead. The two only inconveniences of London are, the excessive drinking of some foolish people, and the frequent fires.\* To all that has been said I may add, that almost all the Bishops, Abbots, and great men of this kingdom, are, in a manner, citizens and inhabitants of London, as having their respective, and not inelegant habitations, to which they resort, and where their disbursements and expenses are not sparing, whenever they are summoned thither from the country, to attend councils, and solemn meetings, by the King, or their metropolitan ; or are compelled to repair thither for the protection of their own proper business.

“ But, let us now proceed to the Sports and Pastimes

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\* The custom of hard drinking appears to have been introduced into this country by the Danes. The frequent fires in London were, doubtless, a consequence of the houses being chiefly built with timber, and of the narrowness of the streets.

of the City, since it is not sufficient that a place be commodious and serious, but it must also be pleasing and agreeable. Hence, even in the seals of the Roman Pontiffs, as low as the times of the last Pope, Leo,\* on one side of the seal the effigies of Peter the Fisher was engraved, with a key placed above him, and held out to him, as it were, from the clouds by the hand of God, and round him this verse :

‘ Tu pro me navem liquisti, suscipe clavem.’

Thou left the ship for me, receive the key.

“ On the other side the city was represented, with this legend :

‘ Aurea Roma.’—Golden Rome.

“ And so it was said, as a compliment, of Augustus Cæsar, and the City of Rome,

‘ All night it rains, with morn return the shews,  
Cæsar with Jove an equal empire owes.’

“ London, in lieu of the ancient Shews of the Theatre, and the entertainments of the scene, has Exhibitions of a more devout kind; either representations of those miracles which were wrought by holy Confessors, or of those passions and sufferings in which the

\* Leo IX. who died in the year 1054.

† This allusion, says Dr. Pegge, is “ not to what is called the *Piscatorial Seal*, or *Secretum* of the Popes (concerning which see Du Fresne, v. *SIGILLUM*, col. 494, edit. Benedict), but to the form or device of the ancient *Bullæ*, in use before the Effigies of St. Paul and St. Peter were applied.”

Martyrs so signally displayed their fortitude.\* Besides, that we may begin with the pastimes of the boys (as we have all been boys), annually, on the day which is called Shrove-Tuesday, the boys of the respective schools bring to the masters each one his Fighting-cock, and they are indulged all the morning with seeing their cocks fight in the school-room. After dinner, all the youth of the City go into the field of the suburbs,† and address themselves to the famous game of Football. The scholars of each school have their peculiar ball; and the particular trades have most of them theirs. The elders of the City, the fathers of the parties, and the rich and the wealthy, come to the field on horseback, in order to behold the exercises of the youth, and in appearance are themselves as youthful as the youngest; their natural heat seeming to be revived at the sight of so much agility, and in a participation of the diversions of their festive sons.

“ Every Sunday in Lent,‡ a nobler train of young men take the field, after dinner, well mounted on horses of the best mettle, of which

‘ Each steed’s well taught to gallop in a ring.’

“ The lay-sons of the citizens rush out of the gates

\* These were the Misteries and Moralities of the old English Drama, and which, at first, were principally represented by ecclesiastics, and in churches, or within the precincts of religious houses.

† Either Smith-Field, or *Moor-Fields* is here indicated.

‡ It must be recollected that Fitz-Stephen wrote in the times of Popery, when amusements of every kind were tolerated on the Sabbath; as they still are in all Catholic countries.

in shoals, furnished with lances and shields; the younger sort with javelins pointed, but disarmed of their steel; they ape the feats of war, and act the sham-fight, practising the agonistic exercises of that kind. If the King happens to be near the City, many courtiers honour them with their presence, together with the juvenile part of the households of the Bishops, Earls, and Barons, such as are not yet dignified with the honour of Knighthood, and are desirous of trying their skill. The hope of victory excites their emulation. The generous chargers, neigh and champ the bit. At length, when the course begins, and the youthful combatants are divided into classes or parties, one body retreats, and another pursues, without being able to come up with them; whilst in another quarter the pursuers overtake the foe, unhorse them, and pass them many a length.

“At Easter, the diversion is prosecuted on the water; a target is strongly fastened to a trunk or mast fixed in the middle of the river, and a youngster standing upright in the stern of a boat, made to move as fast as the oars and the current can carry it, is to strike the target with his lance; and if in hitting it he breaks his lance, and keeps his place in the boat, he gains his point, and triumphs; but if it happens the lance is not shivered by the force of the blow, he is of course tumbled into the water, and away goes his vessel without him.\* However, a

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\* This diversion might be denominated the *Aquatic Quintin*, as it so nearly resembled the *quintana* at land, of which so much has been written by our antiquaries.

couple of boats full of young men are placed, one on each side of the target, so as to be ready to take up the unsuccessful adventurer, the moment he emerges from the stream and comes fairly to the surface. The bridge, and the balconies on the banks, are filled with spectators, whose business is to laugh.

“ On Holidays, in summer, the pastime of the youth is to exercise themselves in Archery, in running, leaping, wrestling, casting of stones, and flinging to certain distances, and lastly, with bucklers. The maidens, as soon as the moon rises, dance to the guitar, and with their nimble movements, shake the ground. In the winter Holidays, the youth are entertained in a morning with boars fighting to the last gasp, as likewise with hogs full tusked, intended to be converted into bacon; or game bulls, and bears of a large bulk, are baited with dogs. And when that vast lake which waters the walls of the City towards the north\* is hard frozen, the youth in great numbers go to divert themselves on the ice. Some taking a small run, for an increment of velocity, place their feet at the proper distance, and are carried; sliding sideways, a great way; others will make a large cake of ice, and seating one of their companions upon it, they take hold of one another's hands and draw him along; when it sometimes happens, that moving swiftly on so slippery a plain, they all

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\* The marshy parts of Finsbury, or, as it was anciently called, *Fensbury*, and Moorfields, are here meant.

fall down headlong. Others there are who are still more expert in these amusements on the ice, they place certain bones, the leg-bones of some animal, under the soles of their feet, by tying them round their ankles, and then taking a pole, shod with iron, into their hands, they push themselves forward by striking it against the ice, and are carried along with a velocity equal to the flight of a bird, or a bolt discharged from a cross-bow.\* Sometimes two of them, thus furnished, agree to start opposite one to another, at a great distance; they meet, elevate their poles, attack and strike each other, when one or both of them fall, and not without some bodily hurt; and even after their fall, they shall be carried a good distance from each other, by the rapidity of the motion; and whatever part of your head comes upon the ice; it is sure to be laid bare to the scull. Very often the leg or the arm of the party that falls, if he chances to light upon either, is broken: but youth is an age ambitious of glory, fond and covetous of victory; and that in future time it may acquit itself boldly and valiantly in real engagements, it will run these hazards in sham ones. Many of the citizens take great delight in fowling, with merlins, hawks, and such like, as likewise in hunting; and they have a right and privilege of hunting in Middlesex, Hertfordshire, in all the Chiltern country, and in Kent, as far as the river Cray.

“ The Londoners, at that time called *Trinovantes*,

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\* Of this rude and simple kind of skating, this is, probably, the first description on record.



repulsed Julius Cæsar, a man who ever marked his passage with the slaughter of his foes : hence Lucan says,

• Britain he sought, but turn'd his back dismay'd.'

“ This city hath produced some, who conquered many kingdoms, and in particular subdued the Roman empire :\* it hath also generated many others, whose military valour hath exalted them to the skies, as was thus promised to Brutus by the oracle of Apollo :

‘ Brutus, there lies beyond the Gallic bounds  
An island which the Western Sea surrounds ;  
To reach that happy shore thy sails employ ;  
There Fate decrees to raise a second Troy,  
And found an empire in thy royal line,  
Which time shall ne’er destroy, nor bounds confine.’

“ After the Christian religion had been planted here, London gave birth to Constantine the Great,† son of the *Empress Helen*, who, by donation, conferred the City of Rome, and all the *insignia* of the empire, upon God, and St. Peter, and Pope Sylvester, whose stirrup he condescended to hold,‡ and after-

\* In this passage Fitz-Stephen alludes to the stories of Ebraucus, Belinus, Brennius, and Gurgiunt Babtruc, as narrated by Geoffrey of Monmouth.

† That Constantine was born in Britain has been fully established by Drake, in his *Eboracum*, but it is most probable that his birth-place was York, and not London, as here asserted by Fitz-Stephen.

‡ The grant here spoken of is admitted to have been a forgery by Papists as well as Protestants; and the story of Constantine holding the Pope’s stirrup is alike legendary.

wards declined to be called *Emperor*, as choosing rather to be styled *the Defender of the holy Roman Church*. And, lest the peace and tranquillity of our Lord the Pope should be molested by his presence, and by secular tumults and disorders consequent thereupon, he was pleased to leave the City, after he had invested his Holiness with it, and to found the City of Constantine for himself. London, also, in more modern times, hath been the cradle of some illustrious and Great Princes, the Empress Matilda, King Henry III.\* and the blessed Archbishop Thomas, the glorious Martyr of Christ; than whom, to every person of worth throughout the whole Roman [Latin] world,

‘ ——— The place ne’er bore  
A Soul more candid, nor a surer Friend.’

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\* It has been conjectured, by different writers, that this is a clerical error for Henry II. ; yet all the manuscripts agree in reading *tertium*, though it is “demonstrable,” as Dr. Pegge has remarked, that “*the Description* was written in the reign of Henry II.” Neither Henry II. nor Henry III. were, however, born in London; the former being a native of Mentz, in Germany, and the latter of the City of Winchester. But the “*Henricum Regem tertium*” of Fitz-Stephen, was, according to Dr. Pegge’s ingenious supposition, Henry, son of Henry II. who was actually born in London (vide Sandford’s “Genealogical History,” p. 66), and crowned King in his father’s life-time. He also exercised all the rights and prerogatives of a sovereign, but died before his father, in 1182. Fitz-Stephen, therefore, with sufficient correctness, has designated him under that title by which he would have been recorded in our Annals had he survived his parent.

BAPTISMAL COIN OF CONSTANTINE THE GREAT,  
STRUCK IN LONDON.


That Roman Money was coined in Great Britain during the Lower Empire, is unquestionable, but there is a considerable degree of uncertainty in rightly appropriating those Coins which have escaped the lapse of time and the accidents of ages. This arises from the difficulty of ascertaining the true meaning of the letters in the EXERGUES, but which are generally considered as standing for the initials of those towns where the respective coins were struck. Thus the letters P. L., which Jobert, wherever they occur, reads *Pecunia Lugduni*, "the Money of Lyons," are, by his Commentator, read *Pecunia Londini*, "the Money of London:" a careful examination of circumstances is, therefore, necessary, before we can positively fix the place wherein any particular coin, thus inscribed, had its origin.

Constantine the Great, the first of the Roman Emperors that embraced Christianity, was born in this country in the year 274. He was the son of Constantius Chlorus, who governed Britain, and Helena, a female of obscure birth, who had been initiated in the Christian doctrine, and is said to have instructed her son in the same belief. It is evident, however, that for some time after he came to the Imperial throne he still adhered to the rites of heathenism, as all his early coins bear the impress and inscription of heathen worship, being frequently dedicated *Jovi*

*Conservatori*, “to Jupiter the Preserver,” and to other deities of the heathen mythology.\* His direct conversion, according to Ecclesiastical writers, was effected by a *miracle* in the year 312, when proceeding towards Rome to contend for empire with Maxentius. Eusebius states, that the Emperor *himself* declared to him, and *confirmed* it with an *oath*, that when on his march, near Verona, and whilst meditating on the difficulties of his situation, “he was roused from deep thought by a bright light which suddenly illumined the sky, and looking up, he saw the sun, which was in its meridian, surmounted by a cross of fire, and beneath it this inscription, *τοῦτο νικᾷ*, “In this Conquer.”—Struck by this preternatural appearance, he immediately adopted the cross as his ensign, and formed upon the spot the celebrated *Labarum*, or Christian Standard, under which he marched forward, and having rapidly triumphed over all his enemies, had his new Standard everywhere substituted for the Roman eagle, and all his future coins bore an impress and legend strictly applicable to the extraordinary events of his conversion.†

Constantine deferred his baptism till increasing sickness and debility warned him that his days were

\* See Walsh’s “Essay on Ancient Coins,” &c. “as Illustrating the Progress of Christianity,” p. 90: edit. 1828.

† Ibid, p. 91. The *Labarum*, according to Eusebius, was a spear crossed by an arrow, on which was suspended a velum, having inscribed on it the monogram , formed by the Greek letters *chi* and *rho*, the initials of Christ.

fast approaching to an end. The baptismal rights were then solemnized at the Feast of the Pentecost, anno 337, in the suburbs of Nicodemia. He had caused himself to be clad in a white robe (as emblematical of the purity of regeneration), and in that robe he died shortly afterwards, having never laid it aside to assume the purple.

This remarkable event, the first instance of a baptism of a Christian Sovereign, could never have been passed over without numismatic commemoration, and we accordingly find that a coin was struck alluding to it, in *London*; for to that City Occo, Bergerus, Mediobarbus, and Du Cange, concur in referring the Coin, of which the annexed wood-cut is an enlarged representation. The bottom circle shews the actual size of the Coin.



On the obverse is the Emperor, in his robes, crowned with a wreath of laurel; the legend is, IMPERATOR CONSTANTINVS PIVS FELIX AVGVSIVS. On the reverse is a full-length figure of the Emperor, cloaked, holding in his right hand a globe, and in his left a rod, or wand; the legend is CONSTANTINO PIO AVGVSTO BAPTISMATE NATO: viz. To Constantine the Pious, August, born or regenerate, in Baptism. In the exergue, PECUNIA LONDINI CUSA, "Money coined at London."\*

ABBAY CHURCH OF ST. PETER, WESTMINSTER, OR  
WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

The site of WESTMINSTER ABBEY, and the ground immediately surrounding it, was anciently called *Thorney Island*, it having been "overgrown with thorns, and environed by water," prior to the foundation of the *Minster* or Church, from which it obtained its present appellation; and it is a curious fact, that the outline of the Isle may still be traced, notwithstanding the numerous alterations which have taken place in this neighbourhood during the lapse of so many ages.†

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\* Vide Walsh's "Essay on Medals," p. 95.

† Thorney Isle was surrounded by the River Thames, a branch of which entered, on the east, between *Channel* (now Canon) Row and Privy Gardens: thence, running westward, it crossed King-street, and pursued its course down the present Gardener's-lane into Long Ditch, now Prince's-street: then, turning southward, it crossed Tothill-street, and flow-



Tradition, ever fruitful in legends, and monkish craft, equally rife in falsehood, have been forward in assigning a very remote era to this foundation. To the former we owe the tale, that the Romans had a Temple on this spot, consecrated to Apollo; and to the latter, as reported in the vision of the monk Wulsinus, that St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, raised a Chapel, or Oratory, upon the very site of the Abbey Church: but not a single passage of veracious history can be adduced to justify those assertions.

One of the earliest accounts of this Church is a short treatise by Sulcardus, a monk of Westminster, an old copy of whose manuscript is preserved in the Cottonian Library (Faustina, A. 3) in the British Museum. From that authority (which is dedicated to the Abbot Vitalis, who presided here about the year 1080), from Abbot Ailred's "Life of St. Edward," from the concurring testimony of the monks, and from the several ancient charters which recognize its early establishment, we may ascribe the original foundation of this Church to *Sebert*, King of the East Saxons, who having been baptized by Mellitus,

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ing to the west of the Gate-house and Dean's-yard, assumed an easterly direction, and skirting the south side of the Abbey Garden, in the line of the present College-street, again united with the Thames near the upper end of Abingdon-street. This ancient water-course has been mostly formed into sewers. In King-street, at the east end of Gardener's-lane, it was crossed by a Bridge, which was erected by Queen Matilda, the consort of Henry the First.

Bishop of London, about the year 604 or 605, "immediately, to shew himself a Christian indeed, built a Church to the honour of God and St. Peter, on the west side of the Cittie of London."\*

Nearly a third part of the account by Sulcardus is occupied with a legendary narrative of the consecration of the new Church by *St. Peter*, to whom it was dedicated, and who is stated to have himself performed the ceremony to the exclusion of Bishop Mellitus, its proper diocesan.

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\* Stow's "Survey of London," p. 337: edit. 1598.—Widmore, with some plausibility, vide "Enquiry," pp. 2—12, has controverted the claim of King Sebert to the honour of this foundation, but his own hypothesis, which assigns it to some nameless person, between the year 710 and 715, is far less tenable.—Through a long succession of ages no other person than Sebert was ever mentioned as the founder of this Church; and it is generally admitted that both himself, and his Queen Ethelgod, or Actelgod, for the name is diversely spelt, were interred in this monastery: their remains were twice translated; once on the re-building of the Church by King Edward the Confessor, and again after its re-construction by Henry the Third. Sulcardus distinctly affirms, that they were buried in leaden coffins, and Walsingham, as quoted by Dart, corroborates the fact by noticing that, "on the last inhumation, the coffins of lead were enclosed in touchstone." Sebert is stated to have died in July, 616, Actelgod in the foregoing September; consequently, if they were actually interred here, as our historians agree, this Church must have existed at that era. The Monument raised for Sebert also, and the well authenticated practice of depositing the remains of a founder within the pale of his own foundation, render it in the highest degree probable that Sebert was the *real* founder of this edifice; and, as such, deserving of all the respect that has been shewn to his memory.

“ Saint Peter,” says the legend, “descended on the opposite shore, on a stormy night, and calling on Edricus, a Fisherman, desired to be ferried over to Thorney, which was then flooded round by heavy rains. Having promised, also, to reward him for his compliance, the Fisherman obeyed, and St. Peter entered the Church, whence a light immediately appeared to issue, of such transcendant brightness, as to convert the darkness of the night into meridian splendour. The Apostle then proceeded to consecrate the fabric amidst a company of the heavenly host, and a chorus of celestial voices ; and whilst the most fragrant odours spread around, the wonders of the scene were augmented by angels, who were beheld ascending and descending as in Jacob’s vision, recorded in the Old Testament. The astonished Fisherman, awe-struck by the miraculous assemblage, was, for a while, lost in admiration ; but, at length, being restored to his powers by the Saint, he prepared to re-cross the river. On his return, St. Peter unfolded his sacred mission and character, and commanded Edricus to make known to Bishop Mellitus all that he had seen and heard, and to direct him to refrain from a second consecration. The Fisherman, taking courage, required his promised reward, and St. Peter bidding him cast his nets into the water, repaid his services by a miraculous draught of salmon ; assuring him, that neither he nor any of his brethren should at any time want a supply of that kind of food, provided they made an offering of every tenth fish to the use of the newly-consecrated Church :—the Apostle then disappeared !

“ When Mellitus was informed,” continues the legend, “ of this miraculous event, he hastened to the Church, where he found the chrism, the droppings of the wax-tapers, and other convincing signs of a real consecration.

He, therefore, desisted from proceeding in his appointed office, and in commemoration of the miracle, ordered the name of the place to be changed from Thorney to that of Westminster.”\*

After the death of Sebert, the East Saxons relapsed into Paganism, and nothing accurate is known of the affairs of this Church, till the time of the Mercian King, Offa, who not only repaired and enlarged it, but also, “collected a parcel of monks here,” to whom he granted and confirmed various estates, and also exempted them from the payment of the tax called *Romescot*, or St. Peter’s Penny. During the Danish incursions, this foundation greatly suffered; and although a partial restoration was effected by King Edgar, under the influence of the celebrated Dunstan, who brought hither, most probably from Glastonbury (of which he had been Abbot) “twelve Monks of the Benedictine Order,” yet it never acquired any great degree of celebrity, till King Edward the Confessor made choice of it for his

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\* Brayley’s “History, &c. of St. Peter’s Church;” vol. i. p. 5, 4to.—The belief of this legend was so successfully inculcated by the monks, that the offering of the tithe fish was frequently made by the Thames Fishermen, and even so late as the year 1382, that custom was still observed. Flete informs us that, in the year 1231, “there was a law-suit between the monks of Westminster and the Minister of Rotherhithe, for the tithe of the Salmon caught in his parish; the plea of the Monks being, that St. Peter had given them the tithe of all salmon caught in the Thames at the time he had consecrated their Church.”

burial-place, and determined to re-build and enlarge the entire Monastery.

The primary cause of King Edward bestowing his patronage on this Church, arose from the breach of his vow of making a Pilgrimage to Rome, but which intention he had been compelled to forego from motives of state policy. He procured, therefore, a dispensation from the Pope, Leo IXth, on condition that he should relieve the poor with a part of the money allotted for his journey, and with the remainder either repair, or erect, a Monastery in honour of St. Peter, and endow it with a sufficient revenue.

On commencing the new buildings, about the year 1050, the King appropriated "a tenth part of his entire substance to the work, as well in gold, silver, and cattle, as in all his other possessions; and, in 1065, on the completion of the Church, which was a very magnificent structure in comparison with the former edifice, he resolved to have it dedicated in the most solemn and impressive manner. The Day of the Holy Innocents, viz. December 28th, was appointed for the ceremony, and all the prelates and great men of the kingdom were summoned to be present; but it is doubtful whether Edward himself attended the ceremony, as he had been seized with a sudden and mortal illness on the preceding Christmas Eve. He died on the 4th or 5th of January following, and on the 12th of the same month was buried with the utmost pomp before the high altar in the new Church. The successive grants which he had made to this foundation, of estates, manors, and relics, were

ample beyond all precedent ; and, as appears from Sulcardus, he invested the monks with extraordinary privileges by his last charter, which was signed on the very day of the consecration of the new edifice. This munificence, combined with his sanctity, his reputed miracles, and, still more, to use the phraseology of the times, with his “abstraction from fleshly delights,” obtained him the honours of Canonization about eighty years after his decease. At the same time, Laurentius, the Abbot of Westminster, procured by his influence and gifts from the supreme Pontiff, Alexander III., the liberty of wearing for himself and his successors, the mitre, the ring, and the gloves, which had been anciently esteemed exclusive parts of the episcopal habit. In subsequent times, the possessors of these privileges were permitted to sit in Parliament with the Bishops ; an honour which the Abbots of Westminster enjoyed until after the Reformation.

According to Matthew Paris, King Edward’s Church became a pattern much followed in the designs of other Churches, it having been built in the form of a *cross*, to which that historian alludes by the words “*novo compositionis genere* ;”—the earlier Saxon Churches appearing to have had no transepts.

The reign of Henry the Third forms a distinguished epoch in the history of this foundation, as a great part of the Church was then re-built in the elegant and lofty style which still constitutes its primary character, and which, about that period, was adopted in almost all the ecclesiastical buildings



throughout Europe. Matthew Paris, under the year 1245, acquaints us, that the King commanded "that the Church of St. Peter should be enlarged, and the tower, with the eastern parts taken down, and, the most skilful artificers being procured, be then rebuilt, more handsomely, at his own charge, and adapted to the residue, or western part." Thomas Wykes, another contemporary historian, corroborates this statement, and says, that "the King, with the proceeds of his own Exchequer, erected the Church from the foundations."\*

On the 13th of October, 1269, the new Church, which had been completed from the east end to the first arch, westward from the great tower, was solemnly dedicated and opened for Divine service. At the same time the body of St. Edward, "that before laye in the syde of the quere, where the monkes nowe synge, was removed with vast pomp and solemnity into ye chapell at the backe of the hygh aulter," and there deposited in a splendid Shrine which the King had caused to be prepared for its reception. Henry himself, with his sons, Edward and Edmund, and his brother, Richard, King of the Romans, assisted in carrying the chest, or coffin, from the old into the new shrine. On that occasion, a magnificent feast was given by the King to all ranks and degrees of the assembled multitude.

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\* From the time of commencing operations till Michaelmas, 1261, as appears from a Latin document in the archives of the Dean and Chapter, about 30,000l. had been expended on the work.

Edward the First continued the work as far as the first column of the nave, westward of the choir, but all the remaining parts to the west front were very slowly carried on by different Abbots until Henry the Seventh's reign. The great west window was then set up, and the western towers raised to unequal heights, in which state they remained until George the Second's reign, when they were finished by Sir Christopher Wren, as they now appear; but it should be remarked that his work is by no means in unison with the other parts of the building. At the same period, the entire fabric underwent a general reparation: other repairs have been very recently made, particularly in the north transept, a part of the western side of which has been skilfully re-built.

This Edifice is one of the finest examples of the *Pointed Style* of Architecture that was ever erected in this kingdom, and, with the exception of Salisbury Cathedral, it is likewise the most complete and perfect that now remains. Its general character will be seen from the accompanying Prints; of which, that from the Dean's Yard, represents the south-west perspective, and the outer walls of the Deanery.

This Church, on its ground-plan, has the general form of the Latin Cross, but all the eastern part, from the transept, is surrounded by variously-shaped chapels, of which that of Henry the Seventh is the most capacious and magnificent. The front elevation of the North Transept (although somewhat modernized in its minor details) presents a most noble example of that diversified richness, and elegant yet fan-

ciful display which is inherent in the Pointed style. Its immense buttresses, beautiful *Rose*, or St. Catherine-wheel window, and elevated pinnacles, eminently contribute to its imposing effect. The *Rose* window, which was re-built in 1722, by Mr. William Dickenson, master mason, forms a vast circle, thirty-two feet in diameter, ingeniously divided by elegant tracery into sixteen principal lights, or leaves (besides numerous smaller lights), which expand from a small eight-leaved central circle. Within the latter, in stained and painted glass, is a representation of the Holy Scriptures surrounded by cherubim : the large exterior divisions contain full-length figures of Christ, the Apostles, and the Evangelists. There is a corresponding circular window, but more elaborate in its tracery, in the South Transept ; yet, from being glazed with plain glass only, its appearance is far less impressive : this was newly built in 1814 by the late Mr. Thomas Gayfere, the Abbey Mason, from a design by the late James Wyatt, Esq.

The interior of this venerable edifice produces a most striking effect on entering from the west ; the view from that point being more extended and unbroken, and the architectural character of the building more apparent, than from any other. The lights, too, are so judiciously introduced, and the arrangement and proportions of the columns so nicely adjusted to the forms and magnitude of the arches, and to the ærial loftiness of the vaulting, that the whole combines into one harmonious perspective, and, for a time, the spectator feels a stronger inclination to

contemplate the picture than to examine the design. There are, however, many other points from which the different parts of the Church may be seen to great advantage; and as almost every part displays an exuberancy of monumental decoration, in which the art of sculpture has been advanced to a very high degree of excellence; there is, probably, no structure in the kingdom, from the examination of which the intelligent mind can derive a greater pleasure.

From the annexed view in the South Aisle, and which also comprehends a portion of the nave, some idea may be obtained of the architectural style, and general forms of the interior: but it should be remarked, that the vaultings of the nave and choir are considerably more elaborate than that represented in the print.\* In the great west window are full-length figures of Moses, Aaron, and the Patriarchs, painted on glass in George the Second's reign. A still more interesting display of stained and painted glass, of the kind called *Pot-metal*, is contained in

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\* The above print, together with the several others relating to this Edifice, inserted in the present work, was copied from Mr. J. P. Neale's very accurate delineative Illustrations of the "History and Antiquities of St. Peter's Church," before referred to. In that comprehensive undertaking, every part of the building is fully described, both pictorially and verbally; all the monuments, worthy of notice, are duly mentioned, and every inscription correctly given; all the arms, badges, &c. throughout the Church, Cloisters, &c. are, also, properly blazoned and appropriated; and biographical sketches and memoirs are annexed of all the Abbots and Deans of Westminster from the earliest period to the present time.

the upper window of St. Edward's Chapel : this, probably, was executed as remotely as Henry the Sixth's time, and includes whole-length representations of Christ and the Virgin Mary ; King Edward the Confessor, and St. John the Evangelist, his Patron Saint ; and St. Augustin and Bishop Mellitus. The monumental Chapels of St. Edward, and King Henry the Seventh, and the chantry Chapels of Henry the Fifth (with its elaborate screen-work against the east wall), Abbot Islip, and St. Faith, (erroneously called St. Blaize's and St. Catherine's Chapel), are all deserving of a most particular inspection. Indeed, there is scarcely any part of the fabric, crowded as it is with memorials of the most noble and highly-talented of our countrymen, but will amply repay the visitant for the labour of examination and research.

Westminster Abbey, with all its possessions, was surrendered to Henry the Eighth by Abbot Boston, or Benson, on the 16th of January, 1539-40 : its nett revenues, according to Dugdale, amounted to 3470l. 0s. 2¼d. per annum. Its gross valuation, as given by Speed, was 3977l. 6s. 4¾d. On the 17th of December, 1540, the King, by his letters patent, erected Westminster into an Episcopate, of which the Abbey Church became the *Cathedral*, and Thomas Thirlby, Dean of the King's Chapel, was appointed its first Bishop. He was also its last Bishop, for during the Protectorate in Edward the Sixth's reign, he was constrained to resign his See on March the 29th, 1550. The new Bishopric was then suppressed,

and the diocese of Westminster consigned to the jurisdiction of the Bishops of London, who thus obtained authority over various Churches which, as belonging to the Abbey, had previously been exempt from visitation. Queen Mary, by a charter, dated at Croyden, on September the 7th, 1556, re-instated the Monastery of Westminster, and soon afterwards bestowed the Abbacy on John Fecknam, or Feckenham, who was the last Abbot that ever sat in the House of Lords; in which, in January, 1559, in Queen Elizabeth's first Parliament, he took his seat in "the lower place on the Bishops' form." In the same year, July the 12th, the Abbey was surrendered to the Queen, under the authority of a general Act of Parliament, which vested in the reigning sovereign all the religious houses lately erected, or revived, by her sister. The monks were then finally displaced, and Abbot Feckenham was, in the following year, committed to the Tower in consequence of his pertinacious resistance to the measures of Elizabeth in support of the Reformed Church. The unsettled state of ecclesiastical affairs had induced the Queen to keep the Abbey in her own hands for several months, but at length, on May 21st, 1560, she re-founded it as a *Collegiate Church*, to be governed by a Dean, twelve Secular Canons, or Prebendaries, and various other officers: she also attached to it a royal school for forty boys (now called the King's Scholars), with a Master, Usher, &c. and many very eminent men, both in church and state, have acquired the rudiments of knowledge at this establishment.



## LONDON IN QUEEN ELIZABETH'S REIGN.

Not any plan nor view of the Metropolis is known, with certainty, to be extant, of an earlier date than Queen Elizabeth's reign; although Bagford, in his Letter to Hearne, prefixed to Leland's "Collectanea," has mentioned a view, or ground-plot, of London, as being noticed in a manuscript inventory of Henry the VIIIth's furniture.

Vertue, speaking of a plan and view of London, with the River Thames, &c. which he describes as "the most ancient Prospect in print,"\* says, "This was reported to have been done in Henry VIII. or Edward the VIth's time; but from several circumstances it appears to be done early in Queen Elizabeth's reign, about 1560, being cut on several blocks of wood: the plates thereof are now of the greatest scarcity, no copies perhaps preserved, being put up against walls in houses, therefore in length of time all decayed or lost."† Whether that Prospect was the identical "*Civitas Londinum, Anno Dni Circiter MDLX*," which Vertue "re-engraved to oblige the Curious," and "shew Posterity how much was built of this populous City" in Elizabeth's reign, is somewhat questionable, and the engraver's notes are not sufficiently explicit to enable us to determine the question. Of the "*Civitas Londinum*," his words are, "Probably this was published by Ralph Aggas, as he

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\* Vide Walpole's "Catalogue of Engravers," in his account of Ralph Aggas.

† Ibid.

himself mentioned in that plan of Oxford, done after this was begun : but it must be observed, that this very impression is a second publication, with the date 1628, and that there are several alterations from the first in this ; and particularly, instead of the arms as Queen Elizabeth bore then, those of King James I. (of England, France, and Scotland) are put in the place of them."\* In the explanatory part of the re-engraved plan, Vertue inserted the three first of the following lines, as inscribed by Ralph, or "Radulphus Aggas, on his '*Oxonia Antiqua*,' published A.D. 1578 ;" but the entire verse is here given, as printed by Mr. Gough in his "British Topography."†

"Near tenne yeares past the Authour made a doubt  
Whether to printe or laye this work aside,  
Untill he first had London plotted out :  
Which still he craves, although he be denied.  
He thinks the Citie now in hiest pride,  
And would make shewe how it was best beseen  
The *thirtieth* year of our moste noble Queene."

Now this information leaves it dubious whether Aggas's intention was ever executed ; and, unless we regard the "thirtieth year," mentioned in the last line, as a mistake for the *twentieth* of Elizabeth, which the year 1578 actually was, there is a most unaccountable ambiguity in the meaning of the verse. But, at any rate, we have no absolute valid autho-

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\* Walpole's "Catalogue of Engravers," under Aggas.

† Vide the article "London," vol. i. p. 744.

rity for ascribing the plan under review to the above Surveyor, although it has been generally called by his name.

Mr. Gough, who mentions three impressions of the old plan, two of them belonging to Sir Hans Sloane and Dr. Mead, and the third in the Pepysian Library, conceives with Mr. Ward, that it has been altered at different times. The impression in the Pepysian Collection, he says, has the following lines in the right-hand corner : the last couplet seems a compliment to King James.

“NEW TROY my name when first my fame begun  
By Trojan Brute ; who then me placed here,  
On-fruitfull soyle, where pleasant Thames doth run,  
Sith had my lord, my king and lover dear,  
Encreast my bounds ; and LONDON (for that rings  
Through regions large) he called then my name :  
How famous since, I, stately seat of kings,  
Have flourish'd aye, let others that proclaim ;  
And let me joy, thus happy still to see  
This vertuous peer my sovereign King to be.”

In Vertue's plan, which was executed in 1737, and eventually purchased of his widow by the Society of Antiquaries, the above lines are omitted ; their place being occupied by the explanatory remarks, under the words ‘ *Londinum Antiqua*.’ Vertue describes the original printed plan as 6 feet 3 inches long, and 2 feet 4 inches wide, “ contained in six sheets and two half sheets ;” but with “ notes of explanation printed,” he imagines, “ on slips of paper, to be added at bottom.” His own plan was

engraven on eight plates of pewter, and printed on eight sheets, corresponding together with the size of the original. The annexed Plan was reduced from Vertue's copy; but the arms of Queen Elizabeth and of the City of London, with some ornamental scroll-work, have been omitted as unessential.

From this very curious representation, many interesting particulars may be deduced of the state of the Capital in the early part of Elizabeth's reign. The most crowded part of the City was on the south side, extending from Newgate-street, Cheapside, and Cornhill, to the banks of the Thames; and besides the small bay at Billingsgate, there were also two others, namely, at Ebgate and Queenhithe. Cornhill is an open space, and beyond Lothbury, from Basinghall-lane to Bishopsgate, a great portion of the ground, with the exception of Coleman-street, and the houses adjacent to St. Augustin's Church, was uncovered, and apparently occupied as gardens. Similar void spaces, but interrupted by buildings, occurred between Bishopsgate-street and Aldgate.

At the extremity of the Minories, which was partly laid out in gardens, stood a Cross, and at a short distance was a Tenter-ground. Goodman's Fields was only an extensive inclosure; and most of East Smithfield was an open space, partly used for bleaching. St. Katharine's appears to have extended but a short way beyond the Church. From the gardens and inclosures immediately attached to the northern side of Whitechapel and Houndsditch, the grounds were merely shaded by trees, and the Spital Fields

were entirely open from the back of St. Mary-Spital which gave them name. Houndsditch was only a single line of buildings, extending in a curvilinear direction from St. Botolph's, Aldgate, to Bishopsgate without. From thence, a more regular street, but interspersed with openings, gardens, and detached edifices, extended to Shoreditch Church, which was nearly the last building in that direction. Westward from Bishopsgate-street, a few buildings, the principal of which was a long range called the Dog-house, with gardens and inclosures intermingled, extended into Moorfields and Finsbury Field, both of which, from the Dog-house to Finsbury-court (near the present Artillery Ground) were entirely open. Moorfields appears to have been used for drying linen ; in Finsbury Field, both archers and cattle are represented, and beyond it are three wind-mills, which doubtless gave name to the present Windmill-street. From Cripplegate to Old-street, great part was open ground, and from the spot now occupied by St. Luke's Church to Shoreditch, was not a single house, and not more than three or four detached buildings stood in the fields beyond. Chiswell-street was unbuilt, and very few houses appear in Whitecross-street. Goswell-street is merely indicated by a road, described as the " way to St. Albans ;" and Islington Church is seen in the distance, with a few houses and gardens near it. In Smithfield, horses are exercising, and on the west side is a row of trees.

Clerkenwell, with the exception of the houses in St. John's-street, Cow Cross, and Turnmill-street,

was mostly occupied by the precincts of St. John's Priory, and St. James's Church, and only a few detached buildings stood on Islington Road, beyond the Priory.

From the back of Cow Cross towards the Fleet River, and beyond that to Ely House and Gray's Inn Lane, the ground was either completely vacant or occupied as gardens; and Gray's Inn Lane extended only to a short distance from the Inn which gave it name. Between Shoe Lane and Fetter Lane was much open ground; but from Holborn Bridge to the vicinity of the present Red Lion Street, the houses were continued on both sides: further up, however, to the north end of Drury Lane, the ground is almost unoccupied, Southampton House appearing only on the right. At Drury Lane commenced the village of St. Giles; which was principally confined to a cluster of buildings forming the north side of Broad-street: a few other houses stood within the precincts of the Church and Hospital, which are partly enclosed and surrounded with trees. Beyond the Church, both to the north and west, all was open country, and the Oxford and other main roads, are distinguished only by avenues of trees. From the Oxford road, southward, to Piccadilly, called the "way to Reading," and thence along the highways named the Haymarket and Hedge Lane, to the vicinity of the Mews, not a house was standing; and those avenues, as well as the upper parts of St. Martin's Lane, were bounded by trees. The Mews was walled round, and had the same extent as before the alterations in 1827, but Leicester Square and Soho, and indeed all the coun-



try to the north and west, was completely open fields. St. Martin's Lane had scarcely a house beyond the Church, which nearly abutted on the *Convent Garden*, so called from belonging to the Abbot and Monks of Westminster, but afterwards softened into Covent Garden : this plot, which was walled in, and extended from St. Martin's Lane to Drury Lane, west and east, and from the back of the gardens in the Strand towards the present Long Acre, south and north, had only three or four buildings within its ample bounds : but not a house was standing either in Long Acre, or in the now populous vicinage of Seven Dials ; nor yet in Drury Lane from near Holborn to Drewry House at the top of Wych-street.

Nearly the whole of the Strand was a continued street, formed, however, in a considerable degree, by spacious Mansions, and their appropriate offices, the residences of noblemen and prelates ; those on the south side had all large gardens attached to them, extending down to the Thames, and have mostly given names to the streets, &c. which have been built on their respective sites. The Spring Gardens, were literally gardens, partly crowded with trees, reaching as far as the present Admiralty ; and further on, towards the Treasury, were the Tilt Yard and Cock-pit, with a square sheet of water behind the former, on the site of the parade. In St. James's Park were deer ; and beyond the north wall stood a few houses about the middle of Pall Mall. Between Whitehall and New Palace Yard, along King-street, and in the vicinity of St. Margaret's Church and

Westminster Abbey, the buildings were thickly clustered ; and both the Fountain and the Bell Tower are represented in front of Westminster Hall. Beyond the Palace gate, to the right of the present Abingdon-street, were a few buildings, which terminate the plan in this direction.

On the Surrey side, but very few houses appear to have stood in the immediate vicinity of Lambeth Palace, but on the road opposite to the bridge in New Palace Yard (which was a sort of stage landing-place), in the neighbourhood of the present Marshgate Turnpike, are various buildings. The principal ditch of Lambeth Marsh is shewn as falling into the Thames opposite to the Temple Gardens, the ground being unoccupied, except by a solitary dwelling. On the banks of the Thames, opposite White Friars, a line of houses, with gardens and groves of trees behind them, commenced, and was continued, with little intermission, along Bankside to the vicinage of the Stews and Winchester Palace. One of the most noted places in this line, although not named in the plan, was Paris Gardens, the site of which is now occupied by Christ Church, and its annexed parish, and the boundary ditches of which were still open till a very recent period. Further on, but behind the houses, and nearly opposite to Broken Wharf and Queenhithe, were the circular buildings and inclosures appropriated to Bull and Bear-baiting (amusements to which Queen Elizabeth appears to have been partial), and near the latter was a dog-kennel, from which several dogs are seen issuing. From Winches-

ter Palace to the Borough High-street, and along Tooley-street to Battle Bridge, and beyond the latter, to another bridge crossing a ditch, or rivulet, which falls into the Thames opposite to the Tower Wharf, the houses on both sides were thickly clustered; but towards Horselydown the ground was open, and the few buildings which stood opposite to St. Katharine's, were intermingled with gardens to where the Plan terminates. London Bridge was crowded with buildings, among which the celebrated Nonsuch House appeared eminently conspicuous, beyond the draw-bridge, as beheld from Southwark.

#### THE TOWER OF LONDON.

This celebrated fortress, which is rendered so particularly interesting from being connected with some of the most important events recorded in our national annals, stands on the northern banks of the Thames, at the eastern extremity of the City. Various are the opinions among antiquaries as to the origin of this fabric; and although its recent historian, Mr. John Bayley,\* contends against the current idea of its having been a Roman foundation, other enquirers have maintained a contrary hypothesis, and apparently upon better grounds. Not the least credit, however, is due to the report of the White Tower having been founded by Julius Cæsar, who never advanced to this capital, in either of his bravely-contested invasions; but that the Romans had a fortress here in a sub-

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\* Vide "History and Antiquities of the Tower," pp. 2--6.

sequent age, is highly probable. Dr. Stukeley, from Fitz-Stephen, names it the *Arx Palatina*, and has introduced it in his plan of Londinium Augusta;\* and Dr. Miller, in his dissertation on some Roman Antiquities discovered here, in the latter part of 1777, states his belief that the Tower was not only the “capital fortress of the Romans,” but likewise their “treasury, as well as their mint.”†

The Keep, or as it is generally denominated, *Cæsar’s*, or the *White Tower*, is the most ancient part of the present fortress : this was erected about the year 1078, by command of William the Conqueror, for the purpose of securing the obedience of the Londoners. Its architect was the celebrated Gundulph, Bishop of Rochester, who, whilst it was in progress, had lodgings at the house of one Edmere, a citizen.‡ Considerable additions were made by William Rufus, of whom Henry of Huntingdon writes, that “he pilled and shaved the people with tribute, especially to spend about the Tower of London and the great Hall at Westminster.§

Henry the First strengthened this fortress with additional works, and King Stephen, in 1140, kept his court here with great magnificence, during the festival of Whitsuntide. That monarch conferred the custody of the Tower upon Geoffrey de Magnaville, Earl of Essex, who proved faithless to his trust, and kept it for the Empress Matilda, until he was made prisoner at St. Alban’s in 1143, and constrained to

\* Vide Antea, pp. 30—47.

† Vide Archæologia, vol. v.

‡ Stow’s “Survey,” p. 73 : edit. 1618.

§ Ibid.

assent to its surrender, together with the castles of Walden and Pleshy in Essex.

About the year 1190, the precincts of the Tower were considerably extended by William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, and Chancellor of England, who, having been left at the head of the Regency by Richard Cœur de Lion, during his absence in the Holy Land, thought proper to surround this fortress with an embattled wall, of stone, and "a broade and deepe ditch," by which he greatly encroached upon the adjoining lands, and had part of the City wall "broken down for the enlarging of the Tower, to wit, from the Posterne gate towards the River Thames."\* This proceeding greatly exasperated the Londoners, and combined, with his many other acts of arbitrary power, to excite a conspiracy against him. He was, in consequence, summoned before a great Council of the nobility, prelates, and citizens, that had been convened in St. Paul's Church-yard; but, refusing to appear, he was deposed from his authority as Regent, and Prince John besieged him in the Tower. After one night the affrighted prelate agreed to surrender, and to give up all his castles for permission to retire to the Continent.

King John frequently held his court at the Tower, and both repaired and added to the buildings; yet, on the general defection of his subjects in 1215, he was constrained to consent to those ever memorable records of British freedom, *Magna Charta*, and the

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\* Stow's "Survey," p. 25: edit. 1598.

*Charta de Foresta*, which were signed on the 15th of June, on the meadow called Runnimeade, between Staines and Windsor. He also agreed that the City and Tower of London should, for a certain time, remain in the possession of the Barons and the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Henry the Third repaired and strengthened the White Tower, and much increased the fortifications, particularly by founding what, according to Stow, was afterwards called the Lion Tower, and other bulwarks on the western side; although, according to Matthew Paris, these works, at the erection of which the citizens were much annoyed, were twice shaken down and overthrown as though by earthquakes.\* The above sovereign made the Tower his principal residence, and to him it is indebted for most of that importance and splendour which, until the time of Elizabeth, occasioned it to be frequently inhabited by our Sovereigns. During Henry's reign, the Tower was the scene of many important events,

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\* Matthew Paris, pp. 733—739 : edit. Lond. anno 1571. Both these events are said to have happened on the night of St. George, in the respective years 1240 and 1241. Our author states, that the King had expended more than 12,000 marks upon the works, the disastrous fate of which, "proved a source of great joy and satisfaction to the Londoners, who would fain have had it believed, that their great guardian saint, Thomas à Becket, in the plenitude of his zeal for their protection and interest, had taken a nocturnal trip from his tomb at Canterbury, and, by the magic of his archiepiscopal staff, effected all this mischief." Vide Bayley's "History," p. 15.



and was alternately held by the King, and by the united Barons whom his despotic conduct and repeated perjuries had goaded into insurrection.

Edward the First, soon after his accession to the throne, considerably improved this fortress, by completing those works which his father had begun ; and by greatly enlarging the ditch, or moat, that surrounds the whole : he also strengthened the principal entrance towards the west, by fresh outworks. These may be regarded as the last additions, of any military importance, that were ever made to the Tower, prior to the invention of cannon.

Of succeeding events, relating to this fortress, a very brief account must suffice. Edward the Second occasionally retired into it as a place of security against his ill-treated subjects, and still further strengthened the works. His Queen was here delivered of her eldest daughter, called, from her birth-place, Joan of the Tower, and afterwards (in derision) Joan *Makepeace*, from having been married by Queen Isabella, and her paramour Mortimer, to David, Prince of Scotland, when they were both children, as the cement of an inglorious Treaty with that country, in 1328. In Edward the Third's reign, this fortress, which had been used as a state prison from the early Norman times, became the place of confinement of many illustrious persons ; among whom, at different periods, were David, King of Scotland, and John, King of France, with Philip his son.\*

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\* King John had been previously kept in a kind of honourable captivity, at the Savoy and at Windsor, but when

During the insurrection of Wat Tyler, King Richard the Second took refuge here, with all his court, and the principal nobility and gentry, to the number of 600 persons. Being compelled, however, to attend a conference with the insurgents at Mile-end, when the gates were opened, another party rushed into the Tower, and seizing Simon Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury, the Chancellor, and Sir Robert Hales, Lord Prior of St. John's, the Treasurer, together with the King's Confessor, and one of his Serjeants-at-Arms, they put them to the sword upon Tower Hill. Stow, speaking of the Archbishop says, "there lay his body vnburied all that friday, and the morrow till afternoone, none daring to deliver his body to the sepulture; his head these wicked tooke, and nayling thereon his hoode, they fixe it on a pole, and set it on London Bridge, in place where before stood the head of Sir John Minstar-worth."\* After the quelling of this rebellion, by the death of Wat Tyler and its subsequent consequences, "the Archbishop's head was taken downe off the Bridge, and Wat Tiler's head was set in that place.†

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Edward III. renewed the war in 1359, before he left England, "he made," says Froissart, "all the lords of France, suche as were prisoners, to be put into dyvers places and stronge castelles, to be the more surer of them; and the Frenche kyng was set in the Toure of London, and his yonge sonne with hym, and moche of his pleasure and sport restrayned; for he was then straightyer kept than he was before." Froissart, by Lord Berners, L. i. Ch. ccvi.

\* Stow's "Chronicle," p. 458: edit. 1600. † Ibid. p. 463.

Though King Richard, on this occasion, escaped so fortunately from the effects of that popular indignation which the arbitrary measures of himself and his favourites had excited, his subsequent conduct underwent no beneficial change, and he was, at length, most justly deposed in September, 1399, whilst imprisoned in this fortress.

During the long and sanguinary contest between the Houses of York and Lancaster, the Tower was the scene of many memorable events. In 1460, Lord Scales was besieged here, by the Yorkists, but prior to its surrender, that nobleman, in endeavouring to escape by water, was almost instantly taken and slain. Edward the Fourth frequently kept his court in the Tower with great magnificence; and in 1470, during the temporary subversion of his power, it formed the chief residence of his Queen, who, however, quitted it with her children, on the approach of the confederate lords, and took sanctuary at Westminster. Henry the Sixth was twice imprisoned in this fortress; and it was also the scene of his death, in 1471, but whether that event was occasioned by grief or by violence, is still a mystery.\* In 1478, George, Duke of Clarence, Edward's versatile brother, who had been attainted by the Parliament, was, according to tradition, secretly drowned here, in a butt of Malmsey wine.

The death of Lord Hastings, who was beheaded on the 13th of June, 1483, by order of the Protector

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\* Vide Bayley's "History of the Tower," pp. 54, and 325—331.

Gloucester (on a log of timber in front of the Chapel), the seizure of the crown by Richard, and the sudden and mysterious disappearance, and *supposed* murder of his nephews Edward the Fifth and the Duke of York, are all circumstances of interest in the annals of this fortress ; but their origin and consequences involve so much historical controversy, that it is impossible to discuss them within the limited extent of this article.

In the reign of Henry the Seventh the Tower was frequently used as a royal residence, but particularly by the Queen, who sought refuge here from “ the society of her sullen and cold-hearted husband.” Henry held his court here in 1494, when Sir William Stanley, Lord Chamberlain, was consigned to an unmerited death on Tower Hill, for a mere expression which had been conveyed to the ears of the King by the treacherous Clifford, and which was construed to favour the enterprize of Perkin Warbeck. That youth, whom there is almost every reason to believe, was the real Duke of York, whom King Richard the Third was accused of murdering, was imprisoned in the Tower in 1498 : and on the 23d of November, in the following year, was hanged at Tyburn by order of the ruthless monarch, on the charge of plotting to escape from his confinement. In 1501, the King held a splendid Tournament in the Tower ; and here, on the 11th of February, 1503, Elizabeth, his hapless Queen, died in child-bed of a daughter, who did not long survive her.

Henry the Eighth frequently held his court in this

fortress, and here many of the victims of his tyranny suffered imprisonment and death. Among them were two Queens, the beauteous but ill-fated Anne Boleyn, and the infamous Catharine Howard; the former was beheaded in front of the Chapel, on the 19th of May, 1536; and the latter, near the same spot, on the 11th of February, 1542. Many others suffered here in the same reign; but we must refer to the pages of history for details.\*

Edward the Sixth held his court here for nearly a month prior to his coronation, and here his unfortunate uncle, the Protector Somerset, was twice imprisoned before his decapitation, on Tower Hill, on the 22d of January, 1552. On his decease, the accomplished Lady Jane Grey, who fell a victim to the ambitious views of her father-in-law, John Dud-

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\* Stow, in his "Chronicle," p. 995, under the date 1546, relates the following instance of extraordinary sleepfulness. "The 27. of Aprill, being Tuesday in Easter weeke, W. Foxley, Pot-maker for the Mint in the Tower of London, fel asleep, and so continued sleeping and could not be wakened with pricking, cramping, and otherwise burning whatsoever, till the first day of the next terme, which was full 14 daies, and 15 nights. The cause of his thus sleeping could not be knowne though the same were diligently searched for by the king's physitians and other learned men; yea, the king himselfe examined the said W. Foxley, who was in all points found at his wakening to be as if he had slept but one night, and he lived 41. yeere after, to wit, till the yeare of Christ 1587." In his "Survey," p. 103, Stow repeats this circumstance, adding, that Foxley lived in the Tower, and deceased on Wednesday in Easter week, in the above year.

ley, Earl of Northumberland, entered this fortress as Queen of England ; but in the short space of three weeks she was committed to it as a captive, together with her youthful husband, the Lord Guildford Dudley. The Duke of Northumberland, with many of his partizans, had been previously consigned to these gloomy towers, and on the 22d of August, 1553, that unprincipled nobleman, with his friends Sir Thomas Palmer and Sir John Gates, were decapitated on Tower Hill. During the early part of these proceedings, Queen Mary held her court in the Tower ; “ and it was there that she formed her council, and first openly shewed her determination to subvert the religion of the reformed church,” by celebrating the funeral exequies of her brother according to the Romish ritual, although the Prince was buried, at Westminster, agreeably to the Protestant faith. The rising of Sir Thomas Wyatt furnished the Tower with fresh captives, and even the Princess Elizabeth, Mary’s sister, underwent a strict and severe confinement here of above two months’ duration, on suspicion of being implicated in that attempt ; but Wyatt, with his dying breath, when on the scaffold, solemnly absolved her from any knowledge of his design. Elizabeth was conveyed by water to the Tower, and compelled to enter at the *Traitor’s Gate*, where, on setting her foot upon the steps, she exclaimed, with that spirit and dignity which ennobled her character, “ Here landeth as true a subject, being a prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs ; and before thee, O God, I speak it.”



Wyatt's insurrection was followed by a dreadful scene of sanguinary triumph. Even bigotry herself, embodied in the heart of the ruthless Mary, had hitherto respected the youth and virtues of Lady Jane Grey, whose only real crime was an imprudent submission to a parent's will ; but she was now devoted to death, together with her husband, Lord Guildford Dudley ; and both of them were beheaded on the 12th of February, 1554, the former on the green before the Chapel within the Tower, and the latter on Tower Hill.\* Eleven days afterwards, the Duke of Suffolk, Lady Jane's rash and imprudent father,

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\* The heroic conduct of Lady Jane, when at the point of death, will be seen by referring to vol. ii. pp. 141—144. Shortly before her execution, Sir John Brydges, the Lieutenant of the Tower, by whom she had been treated with much kindness, requested her to write some sentence in a manual of devotions, that he might preserve it in her remembrance: she complied with her accustomed grace, and taking a pen, is said to have given him this fervent admonition. " Forasmuche as you have desired so simple a woman to wrighte in so worthy a booke, gode mayster lieufteuante, therefore I shall as a friend desyre you, and as a Christian, require you, to call upon God, to encline your harte to his lawes, to quicken you in his waye, and not to take the worde of treuth utterlye oute of your mouthe. Lyve still to dye, that by death you may purchase eternell life : and remembre howe Mathusael, whoe, as we reade in the scriptures, was the longeste liver that was of a manne, died at laste : for as the precher sayethe, there is a tyme to be born, and a tyme to die ; and the daye of deathe is better than the daye of our birthe. Youres, as the Lord knowethe, as a frende, Jane Duddeleye." Harl. MSS. No. 2342.

was decapitated on the same scaffold upon which his son-in-law had been so lately executed.\* Numerous other victims of revenge and Catholic intolerance, became inmates of the Tower during this sanguinary reign, among whom, passing over many persons of inferior rank, were the Bishops Ridley and Latimer, and Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, (all of whom were burnt at Oxford, in 1554 and 1555), the Earl of Warwick, the Marquis of Northampton, Courteney, Earl of Devonshire, Lord Cobham, and Sir John Cheke.

After the death of Mary, when Elizabeth, previously to her coronation, entered the Tower, cheered by the acclamations and heart-felt joy of an immense multitude, she could not refrain from adverting to her altered circumstances, in thus revisiting that fortress as a Sovereign, to which, only a few years before, she had been consigned as a traitress and a prisoner. In the fervour of her soul, she dropped on her knees the moment she alighted from her horse, and “offered up to Almighty God, who had delivered her from a danger so imminent, a solemn and devout Thanksgiving, for ‘an escape so miraculous,’ as she expressed herself, as that of *Daniel* out of the *mouths of the Lions*.”† It does not appear that Elizabeth ever kept her court in the Tower after her coronation; but though it ceased to be the abode of royalty,

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† The situation of this scaffold, whereon, in different reigns, so much noble blood was spilt, is marked in the annexed plan of the Tower.

† Burnet’s “History of the Reformation,” vol. ii. p. 374.

it still retained its character as a state prison ; and at no period of our history, was it more “ constantly thronged with delinquents.” The Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Winchester, Lincoln, Ely, Worcester, Exeter, and Bath, and the Abbot of Westminster, were very early imprisoned here, for denying the Queen’s supremacy. The more illustrious captives in the same reign, were Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, (beheaded on Tower Hill, on the 2d of June, 1571), Philip, Earl of Arundel, Henry, Earl of Northumberland, (who shot himself, in confinement, in June, 1585), Sir John Perrot (the Queen’s natural brother), Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, (Elizabeth’s great favourite, yet consigned by her to the scaffold, and beheaded within the Tower on Ash-Wednesday, February the 25th, 1601) and his friends, the Earls of Rutland and Southampton, the Lords Sandes, Cromwell, and Mounteagle, Sir Charles Danvers, and Sir Christopher Blunt: the two latter were beheaded on Tower Hill, on the 18th of March, 1601.

James the First kept his court at the Tower for a short time after his accession and arrival in London ; and, on two or three different occasions, that monarch and his queen gratified their curiosity by witnessing combats of wild beasts which were kept there. In this reign, the unfortunate Lady Arabella Stuart, whose affinity to the crown had made her an object of royal jealousy, both to Elizabeth and her successor, was imprisoned in the Tower ; to which, also, was committed the gallant Sir Walter Raleigh, Lord

Cobham, Lord Grey of Wilton, and others, on a charge of plotting to raise the Lady Arabella to the throne. Both that unhappy female, and the high-spirited Lord Grey, died here in captivity; the former on the 27th of September, 1615, in a state of mental derangement; and the latter in the following year. Raleigh, who, after his condemnation at Winchester, had been immured in this fortress for upwards of twelve years, was at length set at liberty, in March, 1616. But neither this release, nor his command of the expedition to Guiana, to search for mines, in the ensuing year, were sufficient to ensure his safety, and on the 29th of October, 1618, he fell beneath the axe of the headsman in Old Palace Yard, in execution of his former sentence.

In the same reign, anno 1605, the Gunpowder conspirators were imprisoned in this fortress, which also, in 1614, became the scene of the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, who was inhumanly poisoned at the instigation of Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset, and his infamous paramour, the Countess of Essex. His murderers were afterwards committed to the Tower and condemned to die; yet James, although he had prayed, that "*God's curse* might light upon him and his posterity for ever, if he spared any that were found guilty," eventually pardoned the more atrocious principals, whilst the inferior agents, Sir Gervase Elwaies, Lieutenant of the Tower; Mrs. Turner, the notorious inventor of yellow starch; and two or three others, were consigned to the scaffold and the gallows. Gervase, Lord Clinton; Sir Tho-

mas Lake ; the Earls of Suffolk, Arundel, and Oxford ; the Lord Chancellor, Bacon ; and Sir Edward Coke, were also confined here in the same reign.

During the disastrous contention between Charles the First and the Parliament, the custody of this fortress became an object of much jealousy and debate ; and many of the leading partizans in the transactions of that period were, at different times, imprisoned here. Among those of the greatest distinction, were Lord Loudon ; Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, beheaded May the 12th, 1641 ; Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, beheaded January the 10th, 1644 ; the Earl of Pembroke ; Lord Moubray ; the Archbishop of York ; nine Bishops ; and Lord Montague, of Boughton ; besides numerous other persons, including both peers and commoners.

Under the government of Oliver Cromwell, and in the reigns of Charles the Second and James the Second, the Tower was occasionally thronged with prisoners, the victims of state policy, intrigue, tyranny, or crime. The re-action of parties, on the restoration of the monarchy, and the perfidy of Charles in departing from the promised amnesty, caused many brave men to be immured in this fortress. The late King's judges were particularly the objects of vengeance : and with them, between the Tower and the scaffold, there was but little space. Those noble patriots, Algernon Sidney and William, Lord Russell, were among the last imprisoned here in King Charles's reign : the former was beheaded in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, on the 21st of July, 1684, and the latter on

Tower Hill, on the 7th of December, in the same year. Lord Russell had been tried on the 13th of July, and there is strong reason to believe, that the Earl of Essex, his friend, was basely murdered on the same day, in the Tower, by the Duke of York's connivance, though it was given out that he had committed suicide.

The first victim to despotic power in King James the Second's reign, was the King's unfortunate nephew, the Duke of Monmouth, who, after a confinement in the Tower of two days only, was beheaded on the adjacent scaffold on July the 15th, 1685 : his children were also imprisoned in this fortress. On the eve of the glorious Revolution of 1688, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of St. Asaph, Ely, Chichester, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, and Bristol, were committed to the Tower, by a warrant signed by the infamous Lord Chancellor Jefferies, and others of the King's Council.

During the reign of William the Third, numerous Jacobites and other conspirators against the King and state were confined here, and several of them were executed for High Treason on Tower Hill, and at other places. In the succeeding reign, few persons were committed to this fortress, but in that of George the First, when the Stuart interest had gained strength, it was again more fully tenanted.

In the summer of 1715, the Earls of Oxford and Scarsdale, Lord Powis, and Sir William Wyndham, were committed to the Tower; and on the quelling of the Scotch Rebellion in the latter part of the same



year, the Earls of Derwentwater, Nithisdale, Wintoun and Carnwath, Viscount Kenmure, and the Lords Widdrington and Nairne, were also sent thither as traitors. Derwentwater and Kenmure were decapitated on Tower Hill, on February the 24th, 1716 ; but the Lord Nithisdale, who was to have suffered with them, made his escape on the preceding night in female apparel, which had been conveyed to him by his own mother.\* The Earl of Wintoun, who had been condemned to die, after a trial of three days, also escaped from the Tower soon afterwards : the other lords were pardoned. At a subsequent period, after the Jacobite faction had engaged in new conspiracies, the celebrated Bishop Atterbury was committed to the Tower, and from thence for ever banished the kingdom, on June the 17th, 1723. Christopher Layer, Esq. who was hanged at Tyburn on May the 17th, in the same year ; the Duke of Norfolk ; the Earls of Orrery, Suffolk, and Macclesfield, and the Lords North and Grey, were likewise imprisoned here, either for their devotion to the Stuarts, or for other state offences, in the same reign.

In the year 1745, a fresh Rebellion in Scotland, headed by the Chevalier St. George, eldest son to

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\* When the King, on the next morning, was told of Lord Nithisdale's escape, he remarked that, "It was the best thing a man in his condition could have done." His present Majesty, George the Fourth, generously restored the titles of Viscount Kenmure and Lord Nairne, in June, 1824, and that of Earl Carnwath, in May, 1826, to the representatives of the decapitated peers.

the Pretender, furnished the Tower with new inmates. The principal of these were the Earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, the Lords Balmerino and Lovat, and Charles Ratcliffe, the younger brother of the Earl of Derwentwater, who had suffered in 1716: The Earl of Kilmarnock and Lord Balmerino, were beheaded on Tower Hill, August the 18th, 1746; Ratcliffe underwent a similar fate, on the 8th of December following; and Lord Lovat was decapitated on April the 7th, 1747. They all died with manly fortitude and resolution; except, perhaps, the Earl of Kilmarnock, who was in an ill state of health, and whose feelings were strongly excited by the appalling solemnity of the preparations. Lord Lovat was in his eightieth year, and although from old age and infirmity obliged to be supported to the scaffold by two warders, he met his fate with a dignified jocoseness. He expressed surprize that "so vast a concourse of people should assemble to witness the taking off of an old grey head;" and, on reading the inscription upon his coffin, he said "It is right," adding, from Horace, "*Dulce et Decorum pro Patriâ mori.*"\*

On the 13th of February, 1760, Earl Ferrers was committed to the Tower for shooting his steward, for which crime he was hanged at Tyburn on the 5th of May following. During George the Third's reign,

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\* This gave occasion for the following sarcastic remark.

"With justice may Lovat this adage supply:

For the *good* of their Country *all* criminals die."

many persons were imprisoned here on charges of high treason and other political offences. Among others was the "patriot" Wilkes, for a libel, in 1762; Lord George Gordon, in 1780, as the presumed instigator of the great riots in London, in that year; Francis Henry de la Motte, the French spy, who was executed at Tyburn on the 27th of July, 1781; John Horne Tooke, Thomas Hardy, John Thelwall, William Holcroft, and several others, in 1794; \* Arthur O'Connor, and James O'Coigley, in 1798; and Sir Francis Burdett, Bart. in April, 1810: Sir Francis was imprisoned by order of the House of Commons, for an alleged libel on the House, in a letter to his constituents, the electors of Westminster.

On the 3rd of March, 1820, the following persons, who had engaged in a most atrocious plot, to subvert the government, by assassinating his Majesty's ministers whilst at a Cabinet Dinner at Lord Harrowby's, in Grosvenor Square, were committed to the Tower, viz. Arthur Thistlewood, James Ings, John Harrison, William Davidson, James Wilson, John T. Brunt, Richard Tidd, and John Monument; and

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\* Hardy, Tooke, and Thelwall, were tried separately at the Old Bailey, for high treason, in the months of October, November, and December, 1794; and although every possible effort was made to criminate and convict them, by the ministry of that day, they were all declared "*Not Guilty!*" by the three successive juries to whose decisions their fate had been assigned. After their acquittal the other prisoners were liberated without trial.

several others were sent to different prisons.\* A special Commission was appointed for their trial, in the following April; and Thistlewood, Ings, Davidson, Brunt, and Tidd, were executed in front of Newgate on the 1st of May. Thus close the annals of this fortress as a state prison.

It had been customary, from a very early period after the Conquest, for all our Sovereigns, at the times of

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\* The persons associated in this plot have been generally called the *Cato Street* conspirators, from having assembled in a stable and loft in that street (which is near the Edgeware Road), on the evening of the 23d of February, which had been fixed upon for the execution of their purpose. Government, however, had received previous information of this design from one George Edwards, an hired spy, who was himself a chief instigator of the direful crimes meditated by the conspirators, and had furnished them with money to supply arms and ammunition; the associates, with the exception of Thistlewood, being of the very lowest class, and in a most deplorable state of poverty and wretchedness. On the appointed evening, a strong party of the Bow street police, headed by Sir Richard Birnie, and a detachment of the Coldstream regiment of Foot-guards, commanded by Lieutenant Fitz-Clarence (a natural son of the Duke of Clarence by Mrs. Jordan), were ordered to Cato-street, and after a desperate conflict, in which several of the police officers and soldiers were wounded, and one of the former killed, they succeeded in arresting nine of the conspirators. Thistlewood, who escaped at that time, was betrayed by Edwards, and taken on the second day following, in White-street, Little Moorfields; Brunt was apprehended at his lodgings in Fox-court, Gray's-Inn-Lane, and a considerable quantity of hand grenades and other combustibles were found in his room.

their coronation, to go in great state and procession from the Tower, through the City to Westminster, on which occasion the citizens expressed their loyalty by ornamenting their houses with the most splendid draperies and other decorations; the various crafts and companies in their richest liveries being also marshalled, with their music and banners, along the streets. This custom was discontinued by Charles I. in consequence of the plague, which was then raging, but at the coronation of his successor, on April the 23rd, 1661, it was again observed with increased splendour, and four triumphal arches were erected in different parts of the City. Since that period the ceremony has never been revived, "in consequence of the enormous expenses which it always occasioned the City as well as government."\* All the domestic apartments of the ancient palace within the Tower, were taken down during the reigns of James II. and William and Mary.

This Fortress has the appearance of an extensive town, there being various ranges of building and several streets within it, beside the different towers and the barracks for the garrison. The whole comprises, within the walls, a superficies of twelve acres and five roods. The exterior circumference of the ditch, which entirely surrounds the land side, measures 3156 feet. This ditch, on the side of Tower Hill, is broad and deep, but it becomes much narrower towards the south, or that nearest the river, from which it is divided by

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\* Bayley's "History of the Tower," p. 104.

a handsome wharf and platform, mounted with cannon. Besides these, there are twenty-one nine pounders, arranged in three small batteries, on different parts of the walls. The land entrance is by a stone bridge, crossing the ditch, at the south-west angle of the fortress. At the outer extremity of this bridge are two gates, flanked with bastions, and within the ditch another, all which are shut every night, and opened in the morning with particular formality. The wharf is connected with the Tower by two draw-bridges, near the most eastern of which is a cut connecting the ditch with the river, and secured by the gate called *Traitor's Gate*, from the circumstance of state prisoners having been formerly brought into the Tower through this entrance.

The inner ward, or balliam, which contains all the principal buildings of this fortress, is entered by a noble gate, in the style of architecture of Edward the Third's reign. This ward was inclosed by a high stone wall, embattled and strengthened by thirteen small towers, so situated as to command every part of the outward rampart : most of these towers remain nearly in their original state, and a great part of the wall is also yet standing.

The *White Tower*,\* which, as before stated, was

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\* This appellation most probably originated in an ancient custom of whitening over the exterior walls; and which is mentioned in a curious order given for the repair of this Tower in the 26th of Henry III. (anno 1241,) still extant among the Tower Rolls: "*Et dealbari faciatis totum veterem*



erected by Bishop Gundulph, in the early Norman times, and which stands nearly in the centre of the inner ward, is a strong quadrangular edifice, measuring 116 feet north and south, and 96 feet east and west ; and at the east end is a semicircular projection of about 22 feet ; its height is 92 feet. The walls are embattled, and at each angle is an elevated turret ; that at the north-east angle, which is the highest and largest, is an irregular circle, projecting considerably from the main walls, and containing the great stair of communication throughout the building.\* At the base of this tower is a bold and deep splay, which considerably increases the thickness of the walls. These walls are composed of stone, flint, and rubble work : their general thickness, above the base, is about fourteen feet : they are strengthened on each side by broad flat buttresses.

Exclusive of the capacious vaults under the ground story (which were formerly used as a depôt for saltpetre,) the interior of this Tower consists of three very lofty stories, and is divided longitudinally, from its base to the summit, by a wall seven feet thick. On the lower floor, another wall, of similar thickness, crosses from the preceding one to the eastern exterior

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*murum circa sæpeditam turrim nostram."* In a survey taken in Edward the Third's reign, (anno 1335,) it is styled "*La Blanche Tour*."

\* This Turret was formerly called the *Observatory*, it having been used for Astronomical purposes by the celebrated Flamstead, in Charles the Second's reign, before the erection of the Royal Observatory at Greenwich.

wall, and by this means separates the area into three apartments, measuring respectively, 90 feet by 36 feet; 63 feet by 28 feet; and 40 feet by 14 feet. In the largest apartment is the *Volunteer Armoury*, consisting of upwards of 30,000 stands of arms, curiously arranged, and fit for immediate service. In the adjoining room are numerous closets and presses, filled with warlike instruments, armourers' tools, &c. The corresponding rooms on the second story are occupied as armouries for the Cavalry and sea Services. The smallest apartment in the first story is vaulted semicircularly and has a coved termination at the east end: on the north side, within the thickness of the wall, is a dark cell, ten feet long by eight feet wide. In these gloomy chambers, several of the persons concerned in Wyatt's rebellion, in Queen Mary's Reign, were confined; and tradition states that it was here Sir Walter Raleigh wrote his 'History of the World.' Immediately over this vaulted room, in the second story, and extending to the roof of the Tower, is an ancient *Chapel*, which was originally dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, but has long, though with evident impropriety, been called Cæsar's Chapel. This is a very curious example of the bold and massive character of Norman architecture, but from being occupied as a repository for records, it cannot be seen to advantage. Henry III. gave particular directions for repairing and ornamenting this Chapel, and among other things, for making three glass windows, in one of which was to be "a little Mary holding her child," and in the others "the

Holy Trinity, and St. John the Evangelist." In the upper story is the *Council Chamber*, so called from having been the place where councils were assembled when our Sovereigns held their courts in the Tower ; and it was in this chamber, as traditionally affirmed, that the Protector Gloucester ordered the instant execution of the unfortunate Lord Hastings. The roof is of vast beams of timber supported by two rows of massive posts. A narrow passage, formed in the thickness of the wall, and communicating with the turret staircases, and the Chapel gallery, surrounds this story, which, about seventeen years ago, was annexed to the Record Office.

Besides the above mentioned chapel, there is another at the north-west corner of the inner ward, which was erected on the site of a more ancient chapel, in the reign of Edward III. and dedicated to St. Peter ad Vincula. It consists of a nave, chancel, and one aisle, separated by clustered columns supporting low-pointed arches. Here, many of the illustrious and ill-fated persons who have suffered execution within the precincts of this fortress moulder in the dust.

The internal architecture of the numerous *Towers* connected with the inner inclosure of this fortress merits particular observation, but cannot be described within the necessary limits of this article.

The *Beauchamp*, or as it is sometimes termed the *Cobham Tower*, which, from its style of architecture, appears to have been erected about the time of King John, was formerly used as one of the chief prisons.

for state delinquents. On the walls are numerous memorials which have been cut by the unhappy persons who have been confined there, consisting of inscriptions, verses, names, coats of arms, and other singular devices. The *Devereux Tower*, which was formerly called "Robyn the Devyll's Tower" or "Develin Tower" was also used as a state prison, but appears to be a much earlier erection than that of the Beauchamp Tower. It derives its present name from the celebrated favourite of Queen Elizabeth, Devereux, Earl of Essex, having been confined there, in 1601. The *Broad Arrow*, and the *Salt Towers*, were also used for imprisonment, and contain several inscriptions on their dreary walls: the former was erected at the same period as the Beauchamp Tower, to which it exactly corresponds in form, but is inferior in dimensions.

The *Jewel Tower*, (which was formerly denominated the *Martin Tower*,) acquired its present name from being made the repository of the Regalia, which was anciently kept in a small building to the south of the White Tower. It was in this building that the ruffian Blood made his well known attempt to steal the crown. The *Bowyer's Tower*, which derives its name from having formerly been the residence of the master and provider of the King's bows, is that which tradition assigns as the spot in which George, Duke of Clarence, was drowned in Malmsey wine.

The *Bell Tower* was so named from the alarm bell of the garrison being placed in a wooden turret on its summit. In this building Fisher, Bishop of

Rochester, was imprisoned; and it is said also that the Princess Elizabeth was confined there, by her bigotted sister Mary. The *Bloody Tower* has been so called since the reign of Elizabeth, before whose time it was denominated the *Garden Tower*; though, according to the story told by the warders, it derives the epithet of *Bloody*, from being the place where Edward V. and his brother, the Duke of York, were *smothered*. The *Lanthorn Tower*, was part of the building appropriated to the residence of the royal family. The *Record Tower* was formerly known as the *Wakefield Tower* and the *Hall Tower*. The *Traitor's Gate* is a large square structure, formerly called St. Thomas's Tower; it is supported by a large low-pointed arch, under which is a landing place from the river. Besides the above, here are the *Brick Tower*, the *Constable Tower*, the *Well Tower*, the *Cradle Tower*, and the *Byward* and *Martin Towers*.

The *Collection* of arms and armour within the different buildings of this fortress, is unequalled by any similar depôt in any part of the world. Almost every kind of warlike instrument is here preserved, and the singularly ingenious and fanciful way in which they are arranged and displayed, may be said to be unparalleled. Thousands and tens of thousands of these weapons of death meet the eye in such skilfully-varied forms and devises, that the mind forgets the direful purpose for which such an assemblage was brought together, and dazzled by the splendour and artful combination of the whole, dwells with admiration upon the brilliant scene which is thus exhibited.

In the *Spanish Armoury*, which is now contained

in a new and spacious room, are displayed the various spoils and trophies *said* to have been taken at the time of the defeat of the *Spanish Armada*, in 1588; as well as many other curiosities of great interest and value. Here is a figure of *Queen Elizabeth*, with her horse and page, standing near the entrance of an elegant tent, clothed in splendid robes, in exact accordance with the dress in which she returned thanks at St. Paul's for the signal deliverance of her kingdom from the *Invincible* yet defeated Armada.

The *New Horse Armoury* is a capacious building adjoining to the White Tower, which was designed and erected by Mr. Wright, Clerk of the works, about three years ago. The interior presents one of the most imposing spectacles that can well be imagined; the numerous equestrian and other figures, arrayed in the armour of different ages, combine to give interest to a scene which is probably *unique*. There are no fewer than twenty-two Equestrian figures of Sovereigns and noblemen in this apartment, (which is 149 feet in length and 33 feet wide) all of which have on the armour of the respective periods in which they lived, and some of them are clothed in the *identical* suits that they themselves wore: the horses, also, are accoutred in the warlike habiliments of different ages. This armoury was thus historically arranged, in the year 1826, by Dr. S. R. Meyrick, a person most eminently qualified for the task.\* The equestrian figures stand on a raised

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\* The following lines commemorative of his arrangement, are inscribed over the equestrian figure of Henry the VIIIth, in the central recess.



brick floor, inclosed by a light iron railing, beneath pointed arches, supported by a row of pillars which divide the room into two compartments ; over each is a crimson banner, inscribed in golden letters, with the name and time of the person represented. They stand in the following order : the stars denote the suits which have been positively identified.

Edward I. A D. 1272: mail armour.

Henry VI. 1450 : plate armour.

Edward IV. 1465 : tournament armour.

Henry VII. 1508: fluted armour.

Henry VIII. 1520: plate armour richly inlaid with gold.

Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, 1520: plate armour.\*

Edward Clinton, Earl of Lincoln, 1535 : gilt armour.

Edward VI. 1552: russet armour, curiously gilt.

Francis Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon, 1555 : plate armour, richly gilt.

Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, 1560.\*

Sir Henry Lee, 1570.

Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, 1585: inlaid with gold.

James I. 1605.

Sir Horace Vere, 1606.

Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, 1608.

Henry, Prince of Wales, son of James I. 1612: curiously engraved with military subjects, and richly gilt.\*

George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, 1618.

Charles, Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles I. 1620.\*

Georgio IV. Opt. Max. Regnante.

Arthure Duce Wellington

Ordinationum Magistro.

Has Principum Nobiliumque

Loricus

Historicæ Institut.

Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, 1635.

Charles I. 1640: curiously wrought and gilt.\*

James II. 1685: in a royal dress.

Henry VIII. in a very curious suit of armour, presented to him by the Emperor Maximilian, on his marriage with Katharine of Arragon in 1509.\* It is covered with engravings, representing the legends of saints, interspersed with Henry's badges, and washed with silver.—Vide "Archæologia," vol. xxii. p. 103—113.

This last figure stands in a recess, which contains also many specimens of the armour and weapons of King Henry's time, together with two small figures of Henry, Prince of Wales,\* dated 1604, and Charles, Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles II.\* 1636, in the armour actually worn by those princes. At the entrance of the recess, on each side, is a figure in armour made for Henry VIII.\* in the years 1509 and 1512.

Specimens of ordnance, of different reigns, from Henry the Sixth's time, some of them very curious; helmets and swords, among which are those once belonging to Tippoo Saib; curiasses and other spoils, from the field of Waterloo; ancient armour of various descriptions; pikes, lances, armour, and banners of Charles the First's reign; and a multitude of other weapons, of different forms and countries, are also included in this collection.

On the ground floor of the *Grand Storehouse*, which was erected in the reigns of James the Second and King William, and is 345 feet in length by 60 feet in width, is what is called the *Royal Train of Artillery*, consisting of numerous pieces of ordnance of different kinds, both of English manufacture, and taken from foreign nations in battle. The roof of this apartment,

which sustains the floor of the *Small Armoury*, is supported by forty-two very large pillars, each twenty-four feet in height. In this armoury, which occupies the entire length of the building, are modern arms of every description, in a state for immediate service, and sufficient for 150,000 soldiers. They are arranged in a vast variety of curious forms and devices, and altogether excite great interest. Numerous military trophies, and warlike instruments and accoutrements of various kinds, are also preserved here.

The arrangements of the *Jewel Room* have recently been entirely changed and most materially improved. The Regalia are now shewn by the light of six argand lamps, and displayed at one view, on drawing aside a crimson curtain. The new *Imperial Crown*, which is of matchless splendour, and was made for the coronation of George the Fourth, in 1819, and the *Golden Salt-cellar*, which is a model of the White Tower, but furnished with cannon, and richly set with jewels, are so disposed as slowly to revolve, by which means every part is shewn in succession.

From a very early period our Sovereigns have had a *Royal Menagerie* in the Tower, and there are frequent mention, in the records, of the King's lions, leopards, bears, and other wild animals, kept in this fortress. In 1252, Henry the third commanded the Sheriff of London to pay four-pence per day, for the keep of a Norway bear, which he had received as a present and sent to the Tower; and, in the following year, he also commanded them to "provide a muzzle for the said bear, and an iron chain to hold him out of

the water, and likewise a long and stout cord to hold him when fishing in the river Thames.\* Two years afterwards, he ordered the Sheriffs to erect a house in the Tower, forty feet long, by twenty feet wide, for the reception of an Elephant which had been sent to him by Lewis, King of France.

It would seem, also, from the following allusion in a Sonnet addressed by the poet Skelton to Mistress Margaret Hussey, that our Sovereigns had a *Mews* in the Tower as well as a Menagerie.

“Merry Margaret, as Midsomer flowre,  
Gentyll as faucon or Hawke of the Towre.”

The present Menagerie is in the outer yard, between the western entrance and the principal bridge. It is divided into two courts : the dens are arranged in a semicircular form, and contain, among other fierce animals, a very fine full-grown and majestic lion and lioness, with several of their cubs which have been whelped in the menagerie. In the second court is a very large black bear, from North America, and two large wolves, which have lately been brought from the Polar regions, also two African blood hounds. In the adjoining apartments are several species of the Monkey tribe, and a young elephant, besides numerous varieties of the feathered race, and a number of serpents, amongst which is a fine Boa Constrictor. The cleanliness with which these beasts are kept, and the mode of arranging their respective dens and cages, deserve great commendation.

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\* Bayley's "History," p. 270; from the original precept.

ROMAN ANTIQUITIES OF LONDON.—ST. CATHERINE'S  
CHAPEL.

The following statement, relating to *Roman Antiquities*, &c. in London, recently discovered, was inserted in the "Morning Herald," about the end of the year 1825. It is evidently the production of a writer conversant with the subject, and diligent in his enquiries.

"ANTIQUITIES.—A few days since, some workmen in the employment of Mr. Chadwick, the architect, were digging near the foundation of the *New Trinity Church*,\* when they discovered a Roman vase of a very peculiar form. Shortly afterwards they struck against one of very considerable dimensions, which could not be accurately ascertained, as it was, unfortunately, broken to pieces, and the fragments were carelessly shovelled away, but from those which remained, it is judged that it was about four feet high. Many fragments of Roman pottery, chiefly a light sort of stone ware, have been dug up there. It is supposed that this spot is contiguous to that which Bagford mentions in his letter to Hearne, as the place where a number of Roman remains had been found. Mr. Chadwick added the first specimen to the Collection of Mr. Gwilt, the architect and antiquary; the latter gentleman has formed a small museum of the various Roman antiquities which have been recently discovered in the Borough in digging the sewers. In digging near his own house in Union-street, amidst a variety of Ro-

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\* This Church stands in Great Suffolk Street, Southwark.

man remains, was found a very singular vessel, which in shape has some resemblance to a gallon stone-bottle with a very small aperture. The aperture is perforated with small holes, and it is evidently adapted as a sort of watering-pot acting upon the principle of the common implement used in taking samples of liquor from casks, in which the fluid is retained so long as the orifice at the top is kept closed by the finger, but from which it flows as soon as it is removed. From the nature of the ware, which is black, the workmanship, and the situation in which it was found, no doubt whatever is entertained of its being a Roman utensil. A Samian cup, and several specimens of Samian ware, were found near the same spot: some of the fragments resembled those found in digging in Lombard-street, near Birchin-lane, in 1786. In digging for the erection of a steam-engine at Messrs. Barclay and Perkins's brewery, a human skeleton was discovered, and between the legs was found a vessel with several Roman coins, chiefly of the lower empire, in it. Near the Dissenters' burying-ground was found, not long since, a Roman hypocaust, or flue. In the whole line of Union-street and Blackman-street were found various remains. On the South side of St. Saviour's Church, a Roman tessellated pavement was found by some of Mr. Gwilt's workmen; but he was only enabled to remove a few fragments. A number of Roman coins were found, but those of which we have learned, were chiefly of the lower empire. A copper coin of Antoninus Pius, with a Britannia on the reverse, was found in St. Saviour's Church-yard. The head is in excellent preservation, and the execution is such as is perhaps not excelled by any modern coin; certainly not by any of our own. In the course of the excavations for the new London-bridge, a quantity of Roman mortar was found,



which, it was conjectured, had belonged to some Roman embankment that had fallen into the River at one time. From the remains found in various parts, there can be little doubt (though it is not mentioned in our histories), that *Southwark* was a very flourishing *Roman station*. In the works carried on in the course of the restoration of St. Saviour's Church, which has been so absurdly stopped by a party of the learned parish dignitaries, a quantity of Roman bricks was dug up near the spiritual court, and were found worked in with the flint in the walls. The greater part of these antiquities have been collected and preserved by Mr. Gwilt. Indeed his success as a collector has occasioned several rivals to take the field and watch the works at any new sewers, drains, or excavations, in the expectation of meeting with something curious. The foremost of these is Mr. Gaitskill, the Magistrate ; but Mr. Gwilt has hitherto beaten off all competitors by superior liberality amongst the workmen. He has obtained one funeral urn, with an inscription which is likely to pose the Antiquarian Society. Every antiquarian who has yet been allowed to see it, has, it is said, given a different construction and hypothesis upon it to his brethren. It is probable that in carrying on the new streets, and in digging to form the improvements of the Metropolis, discoveries may be made, which, if they come within the knowledge of the learned, will serve to elucidate the site of the *Roman London*, or *Augusta*, which is now a matter of such wide conjecture. In forming the late new buildings at the India-house a considerable extent of ground was cleared to what was considered the Roman site, where a Roman road was discovered. Mr. Fisher, of the East India House, who gave an account of the superb Mosaic pavement discovered in Leadenhall-street in 1803, has

examined the spot very accurately, and promises to give to the Society a paper upon the subject, in which he will endeavour to set forth a new hypothesis as to the site of the Roman City. There can be little doubt that many antiquities have been destroyed or dispersed from ignorance of their nature, and that many interesting remains, which might have furnished matter useful perhaps to the historian, have recently been broken up without any notice having been taken of them. In making the new buildings lately behind the Cold-Bath Fields Prison, a number of piles were dug up, and some stone-work was found, which we understand appeared to be the vestiges of a bridge of great antiquity. In making the new buildings by the old Pancras Church, the *Mounds* which were accounted by Dr. Stukeley to be the remains of a Roman camp, and which is highly probable, notwithstanding the wildness of his other conjectures respecting it, have been entirely obliterated. The Spitalfields Mathematical Society, learning that the *Roman Camp*, in the fields beyond White Conduit House, would soon be obliterated by the brick-makers, have had a drawing of it taken.

“In taking down the ancient Church of St. Catherine, to form the new St Catherine’s Dock, the tomb of John, Duke of Exeter, was opened and his remains dispersed. His scull is now in the possession of Mr. Compton, the Dock Surveyor. The cranium is small and retiring. The teeth are remarkably perfect. It appeared that his tomb had once before been plundered of the lead. His Will, in which he bequeaths to the high altar of the Church ‘a cuppe of byrol garnished with golde, perles, and precious stones, to be put in the sacrament,’ and a number of other valuable effects, is to be seen amongst the Tower records. This Church was founded in 1148, by

Matilda, consort to King Stephen. The choir was ornamented with Gothic carved work in the stalls, and under one of them was a very good carving of the head of Queen Philippa, and another of her husband. The pulpit was a great curiosity. On its eight sides were represented the ancient building and the different parts of St. Catherine's Hospital."

PLACES IN SAXON LONDON, MENTIONED BY  
HISTORIANS.

It appears, from Dugdale's "Monasticon," that Ethelbald, King of Mercia, gave a Court in London between two Streets, called "*Tiddberti Street* and *Savin Street*."

The following notices are from Hemming's "Chronicle." In page 44, is mentioned the conveyance, in the year 857, of a place, called "*Coelmundinge haga*," not far from the "West Gate,"—doubtless Ludgate. In page 42, a Grant is mentioned of a Court in London, "at the ancient stony Edifice, called by the Citizens *Hwætmundes Stone*, from the Public Street to the Wall of the same City.—Leland says, that Watling Street was called *Atheling Street*."

WESTMINSTER ABBEY.—MONUMENT OF HENRY III.

On the north side of the Chapel of Edward the Confessor, at Westminster, is the lofty, and still magnificent tomb, of *King Henry the Third*, to whom the present Abbey Church is indebted for its foundation. The general design and style of this monument, prove it to have been the work of Italian artists. It consists

of two parts, namely, an elevated basement raised upon steps, and the tomb itself, on which lies a brass statue of the monarch whose ashes it contains. The mosaic-work, with which it was originally decorated, has been mostly broken off, or picked out of the cement : at the east end of the basement division, where, from the difficulty of access, it remains nearly perfect, it is chiefly composed of small triangular pieces of red and gilt glass, disposed into pannels, having guilloche borderings. The south side of the basement, or that within the chapel, is separated into three compartments, containing deep recesses with square pannels : in front of the central recess is an angular pediment, supported by pilasters. These recesses, according to Keepe, who calls them “ambries and lockiers,” were anciently used for laying up the vestments and rich copes belonging to the altar of St. Edward : at the back of each is a cross in mosaic. At each angle of the basement has been a twisted column, now removed or destroyed, between pilasters, which appeared to sustain the entablature.

The tomb is more elegant in its design, and richer in its materials, than the substructure. Keepe describes it as “a composure of curious work, framed of diverse-coloured marbles and glittering stones, chequered and gilt with gold, supported at each corner by twisted or serpentine columns of the same speckled marble, all brought from beyond the seas, by his son Edward, on purpose to adorn this his father's sepul-

chre.”\* On each side is a pannelling composed of a polished slab of dark red porphyry (now cracked), nearly three feet in length, and sixteen inches wide, with a guilloche ornament at the ends : two small diagonal squares of green jasper remain also on the north side. At each angle are two spiral columns, with a kind of Corinthian capital ; but the tesserae, with which they were originally inlaid, are mostly gone.

The brazen statue of King Henry, which lies upon the tomb, is said by Walpole to be the first “ known to have been cast here ;”† but he does not mention any authority for his assertion ; and the performance itself exhibits a more studied expression of simple dignity, than could well have resulted from a first attempt. Both the statue and the brass table (covering the tomb) beneath it, are richly gilt ; yet the thick and adhesive coat of indurated dust which obscures the whole, entirely conceals the gilding, excepting in certain parts that have been rubbed. The King is arrayed in a long mantle, reaching to the

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\* “ Mon. West.” Keepe’s authority would seem to have been the “ Ypodigma Neustriæ” of Walsingham, who says that Edward brought precious stones out of France for his father’s tomb, in the year 1081.

† “ Anecdotes of Painting,” vol. i.—Katherine, youngest daughter of Henry III. died in 1257, aged five years ; and it appears, from the Records in the Tower, that a *Brass Image* was purchased in the City “ to set upon her tomb :” over the tomb there was, also, a *Silver Image* of St. Katherine, for which William of Gloucester, the King’s Goldsmith, was paid seventy marks.

feet, and fastened across the breast ; where some jewel, or fibula, appears to have been once inserted. On the head, which reposes on two small cushions, is a coronet, with fleurs-de-lis : from which the hair descends in two large curls : the face is small, having mustachios and a round beard. There is a fine simplicity in the folds of the drapery ; and were the thick coating of dirt removed, it would, most probably, be found ornamented in a similar way to the coverings of the feet, which are gilt and diapered in a running pattern. The positions of the hands indicate that they originally contained sceptres, but the latter are gone ; as are, also, the “ lion at the feet, and half canopy over the head,” which are mentioned by Keepe, and must, therefore, have been stolen since he wrote his work in 1681. The brass table is diapered with lozenges, each inclosing “ a lion passant guardant :” these may be plainly distinguished near the cushions. Round three sides of the verge is engraven the following French inscription ; on the remaining side is a running ornament of vine leaves and grapes.

**Ici : gist : Henri : Jadis : Rey : de :  
Engleterre : sepgnur : de : Hirlaunde :  
educ : de : Aquitayne : lefiz : liroy : Jo-  
han : Jadis : Rey : de : Engleterre : Ari-  
deu : face : merci : Amen.**

Henry the Third (who though a despot in principle, was a great encourager of the arts) is described by historians as a man of middle stature ;



and as having such a cast in one eye as to hide even part of the ball and pupil. The length of the statue is nearly five feet nine inches : it represents him with small features, but without any particular expression of countenance ; though somewhat too young for the age, sixty-six, at which he died. Henry was taken ill at St. Edmundsbury, on his way from Norwich ; and his decease occurred at Westminster, on the 16th of November, 1272. His funeral was conducted with much pomp, his remains being carried in stately procession by the Knights Templars, whom he had first introduced into this country. His effigy was so splendidly arrayed, that Wykes says “ he shone more magnificent when dead, than he had appeared when living.” As early as the year 1245, he appointed this church to be his burial-place, by deed : in the following reign, and eighteen years subsequently to his interment, his heart was carried by Abbot Wenlock, to Font Evraud, in Normandy, to which foundation he had promised it, on account of his grandfather, Henry the Second, and his uncle, Richard Cœur de Lion, having been buried there.

GUILDHALL.—ENTERTAINMENT OF THE PRINCE REGENT, AND HIS ROYAL GUESTS, IN JUNE, 1814.

—GUILDHALL CHAPEL.—BLACKWELL HALL.

The original Hall, for the transaction of the public business of London, appears from Stow to have been situated on the east side of *Aldermans' Bury* (to which it gave name), and “ not far from the west

end of the Guildhall now used,"\* "Touching the antiquity," continues our historian, "of this old Aldermans' Bury, or Court, I have not read other than that Richard de Renere [or Reynere], one of the Sheriffes in the first of Richard the First, anno 1189, gave to the Church of St. Mary, at Osney, by Oxforde, certaine ground and rents in *Aldermanbury* of London, as appeareth by the Register of that Church, and is also entered in the Hoistinges [Court of Hustings] of the Guildhall in London:—I myselfe have seen the ruines of the old Court Hall in Aldermanbury Street, which of late hath been employed as a Carpenter's Yard, &c.†

Guildhall is situated at the north end of King Street, Cheapside, the principal front being towards the south, but this elevation does not include the entire length of the Hall, as the east and west ends are concealed by the adjoining buildings. "This Guilde Hall," says Fabian, "was begunne to be builded new in the year 1411, the 12th of Henry IVth, by Thomas Knolles, then Maior, and by his Brethren the Aldermen; and the same was made of a little Cottage, a large and great House as now it standeth." The expense of erecting the "Great Hall," which was the first part that was built, was defrayed by "large benevolences," from the City Companies, conjoined with "sums of money," arising from fees, fines, amercements, &c. which were ordered to be applied to this purpose for ten years.

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\* Stow's "London," p. 232 : edit. 1598.

† Ibid.

In 1422 and 1423, the Executors of the celebrated Sir Richard Whittington gave 35*l.* towards paving the Great Hall with "hard stone of Purbecke," and they also glazed some of the windows, together with those of the "Mayor's Court," &c. the foundation of which was laid in 1424. "Then was builded the Maior's Chamber, and the Counsell Chamber, with other roomes above the staires: last of all, a stately Porch, entering the Great Hall, was erected, the front thereof being beautified with images of stone."\* In 1481, Sir William Harryot, Mayor, gave 40*l.* for making and glazing "two Louvers." The Kitchen and other offices were built about the year 1501, by "procurement of Sir John Shaw, Goldsmith, Mayor; since which time the Mayor's feasts have been yearly kept here, which before time were kept in the [Merchant] Taylors' Hall, and in the Grocers' Hall."† This "procurement," as Stow calls it, was by promoting a subscription, to which the City Companies were the principal contributors. In 1505, at which period all the works appear to have been completed, a bequest of 73*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* was made by Sir Nicholas Aldwyn, Mayor, in 1499, "for a hanging of tapestry" to serve for principal days in the Guildhall."‡ In the years 1614 and 1615, a new Council Chamber, with a Record Room over it, was erected at an expense of 1740*l.*

In the Great Fire of 1666, all the roofs, out-offices,

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\* Stow's "London," p. 216: edit. 1598.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid. 217.

and other combustible parts of this edifice, were consumed; but the solidity of the walls was such as to admit of a substantial repair within the three following years, at a less charge than 3000*l*. Further reparations were made early in the last century, but the most important change was effected in 1789 and 1790; when the ancient venerable aspect of the Hall was metamorphosed into the truly *Gothic* façade, which now presents itself, and in which all order, and all propriety of architecture, is set at defiance. It is difficult to describe such an anomalous mass of absurdities; nor is it worth while, (as the accompanying print will give a full idea of the composition); to say anything more upon this abortive attempt to blend the Pointed style with the Grecian, and both with the East Indian manner.

In the old front, the entrance Porch projected several feet before the main line of the Hall, as indeed it still does, and had in the centre a pointed archway, supported by duplicated columns: the spandrels were ornamented with arms and tracery. On each side of the arch, in the basement, were compartments inclosing shields; above the latter were enriched niches, in which, on low pedestals, stood the statues of "Discipline," or "Religion;" "Fortitude," "Justice," and "Temperance;" expressed "by four elegant and delicate females;"\* but partially de-

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\* Vide Carter's "Ancient Sculpture and Painting," in which are etchings of the above figures. When the Hall was new fronted in 1789-90, they were requested of the Court

cayed and mutilated. A balcony then intervened, and an upper story, in which, under a comparatively modern entablature, surmounted by a circular pediment (displaying a *basso-relievo* of the Arms of England), were two large niches, wherein were the statues of two sages, recognized as "Law" and "Learning:" in a central compartment between them was a figure of our Saviour.

Stow, in relation to these Statues, and to the general demolition of "images" that occurred in his time, states, that "these verses following" were made about 1560, by William Elderton, an Attorney in the Sheriff's Court at Guildhall :

"Though most the Images be pulled downe,  
And none be thought remaine in Towne,  
I am sure there be in London yet  
Seven Images, such, and in such a place  
As few or none I think will hit,  
Yet every day they shew their face ;  
And thousands see them every yeare,  
But few, I thinke, can tell me where :  
Where *Jesu Christ* aloft doth stand,  
*Law* and *Learning* on either hand,  
*Discipline* in the Devil's necke,  
And hard by her are three direct ;  
There *Justice*, *Fortitude*, and *Temperance* stand ;  
Where find ye the like in all this Land ?"

In its interior, the porch has been but little altered :

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of Common Council, by Mr. Alderman Boydell, for the purpose of presenting them to the late eminent sculptor, Thos. Banks, R. A., who regarded them as very eminent specimens of ancient art.

it displays a two-fold division, formed by an arch crossing the centre, supported by small columns : pannelled tracery, with quatrefoil turns, ornament the side walls, and the roof, which is groined, has variously-sculptured bosses at the intersections, gilt, &c. : on one of the shields are the Arms of Edward the Confessor.

When speaking of the buildings collectively, Guild-hall may be described as an irregular pile, partly stone and partly brick : the present front is a facing of stone upon the old work. At the angles of the principal roof are embattled turrets.

The *Great Hall*, from its vastness, and the character of its architecture and sculptural decorations, has an impressive and grand effect : it is 152 feet in length, 50 feet in breadth, and about 55 feet in height ; the walls are about five feet in thickness. The sides, interiorly, are each uniformly separated into eight divisions by projecting clusters of columns, having handsome bases and capitals. In the upright, each division, speaking generally, consists of a basement seat, a dado, with triple compartments of tracery, and occasionally a small window or door-way ; an entablature, with a large and lofty-pointed window, of two tiers, over it, with tracery on each side, in unison with the dado ; and, still higher, a second entablature, at which elevation, viz. that of thirty-five feet, the original work appears to terminate. Several of the large windows have been closed up (for the convenience of placing monuments against them), and in a few of the divisions, as in that connected



with the entrance porch, and the next on each side, are compartments of elegant tracery in lieu of the window. The blockings of the frieze of both the entablatures, are sculptured with fanciful human heads, grotesque and other animals, shields of arms, flowers, &c. Upon the capitals of the clustered columns, are large guideron shields, blazoned with the arms of the principal City Companies, which were first put up subsequently to the reparations after the Great Fire. There can be little doubt, but that originally, the Hall was covered by an open-work timber roof, similar to that of Westminster Hall, and that the main beams and arches rested upon the columns mentioned; but, in place of that roof, there is now an attic story, remarkably plain, erected about the year 1669, and raised to the height of twenty feet on the old walls. The arrangement of the parts corresponds with that of the ancient divisions beneath; on each side there are eight circular-headed windows, and the whole is covered by a flat pannelled ceiling. At each end of the Hall is a grand pointed-arched window, occupying nearly the entire width; the mullions, tracery, mouldings, and other architectural accompaniments of which are all in a very masterly style. The upper compartments are enriched by stained and painted glass, of modern execution; the east window displaying the Royal arms and supporters, with the stars and jewels of the Orders of the Garter, Bath, Thistle, and St. Patrick; and the west window, the City arms and supporters, &c.

The east end of the Hall, which was the ancient high place, or *dais*, is appropriated, to the extent of one division on each side, to the holding of the Courts of Hustings, taking the poll at Elections, and other purposes, for which it is fitted up by an inclosed platform, rising several feet above the pavement, and a pannelled wainscotting separated into compartments by Corinthian pilasters, fluted. Over the wainscotting, both in the central part, and above each side is seen a range of beautifully-wrought niche canopies, in ancient stone-work ; and a somewhat similar range, of modern execution, was placed under the sill of the west window, (where some corresponding remains had been found) about thirteen or fourteen years ago, when considerable repairs and alterations were made in this interior. At the same period, the entire space below the windows, which had originally been plain, was faced with pannelling, in accordance with the side walls ; and the colossal figures of *Gog* and *Magog*, which had previously stood on brackets, adjoining to a balcony, over the entrance to the interior Courts,\* were removed to the

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\* See the annexed Plan, at L. Since the Plan was taken, this entrance has been walled up and Mr. Alderman Beckford's Monument, (which had originally been placed in front of the west window,) been erected against it. There was something very picturesque in the old entrance. On each side of the flight of steps was an octangular turreted gallery, balustraded, having an office in each, appropriated to the Hall-keeper : these galleries assumed the appearance of arbours, from being each surrounded by six Palm trees, in iron-work,

west end of the Hall, and placed on octagonal columns on each side of the great window.

Several large Monuments, or more properly *Cenotaphs*, have been erected in this Hall, at the expense of the City, in commemoration of the following distinguished persons, viz.—William Beckford, Esq.; William Pitt, Earl of Chatham; Horatio Viscount and Baron Nelson; and the Right Hon. William Pitt, Chancellor of the Exchequer: the three former are on the north side of the Hall, and the latter on the south side.

The Monument of *William Beckford*, Esq., who was Lord Mayor in 1763 and 1770, and who particularly distinguished himself in opposing the arbitrary measures of administration during the contest main-

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the foliage of which gave support to a large balcony, having, in front, a Clock, (with three dials) elaborately ornamented, and underneath, a representation of the sun, resplendent with gilding: the clock frame was of oak; at the angles were the Cardinal Virtues, and, on the top, a curious figure of Time, with a young child in his arms. On brackets, to the right and left of the balcony, were the gigantic figures of Gog and Magog, as before mentioned, giving, by their vast size and singular costume, an unique character to the whole. At the sides of the steps, under the Hall keeper's offices, were two dark cells, or cages, in which unruly apprentices were occasionally confined, by order of the City Chamberlain: these were called *Little Ease*, from not being of sufficient height for a big boy to stand upright in them. The new entrance to the Courts has been made in the adjoining division of the Hall, towards the West, and immediately opposite to the grand South entrance.

tained by Wilkes respecting the right of election for Middlesex,—was executed by the late Mr. Moore, of Berners Street. It represents the patriotic Alderman as in the act of delivering his celebrated Speech to the King, (which is engraven on the pedestal) on the 23rd of May, 1770, after receiving an unpropitious answer to the famous *Remonstrance* from the Corporation, with which he had been ordered to attend his Majesty: at the angles of the pedestal are two female figures, sitting in attitudes of mournfulness, the one being emblematical of the City of London, the other of Commerce. Mr. Beckford was unwell at the period when he carried up the *Remonstrance*, and it is thought that the irritation of the times accelerated his decease, which occurred within a month afterwards. He was interred at Font-hill, in Wiltshire, where he had erected a handsome seat, which has since been pulled down.

The Monument of *William Pitt, Earl of Chatham*, which is far more noble in design, and more dignified in character than the one described, was executed in 1782, by the late John Bacon, Esq. R. A. who was paid 3000 guineas for his labours. The Earl is represented as a Roman Senator, standing upon a rock: his left hand directs the helm of government; his right hand is placed affectionately on the shoulders of Commerce, who is gracefully presented to his protection by a murally-crowned female, representing the City of London: in the foreground is Britannia seated on her Lion, and near her are the four Quarters of the World, represented by Infants, who are

pouring into her lap the contents of the Cornucopia of Plenty. The inscription was written by the celebrated Edmund Burke.

*Nelson*, the immortal Hero of so many naval victories, is commemorated by a vast pile of sculpture, executed by the late Mr. James Smith, and erected in 1811: the whole cost amounted to 4442l. 7s. 4d. This injudicious, though finely-sculptured composition, consists principally of three figures, namely Neptune, Britannia, and London; but the gallant Chieftain himself, whose splendid achievements it was intended to record, is represented only by a profile relief on a small medallion.\* Neptune, who occupies the foreground, is a gigantic figure; the right hand is raised, and spread, and the face is turned with sympathetic attention towards Britannia, who is mournfully contemplating the Medallion, which she holds in her right hand. Behind are several flags and other trophies; and a twofold marble pyramid, in front of which stands a murally-crowned female in flowing drapery, inscribing on the pyramid the words "Nile," "Copenhagen," "Trafalgar," above which is the name of *Nelson*, encircled by a wreath. The latter figure, which is a personification of the City, or Genius of

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\* The substitution of an overwhelming allegory, in monumental sculpture, in place of propriety and historic truth, however frequently practised, cannot be too strongly reprehended. Among the finely-executed memorials introduced of late years into St. Paul's Cathedral, there are, by far, too many instances of this kind of absurdity, which betrays both poverty of invention, and deficiency of taste.

London, is wholly turned backward to the spectator, by which injudicious position a favourable opportunity of making an impressive and dignified appeal to the mind has been entirely lost. The base of the monument contains a bas-relief of the battle of Trafalgar: on each side, in a small niche, is the figure of a seaman; and at each end is a trident. The inscription was from the pen of the late Right Hon. R. B. Sheridan.

On the south side of the Hall, opposite to that of his illustrious father, is the monument commemorating the *Right Hon. W. Pitt*, which was executed by Mr. J. G. Bubb, a young but skilful artist, and erected in the summer of 1812; at a cost to the City of 4078l. 17s. 3d. The figures in this composition are placed upon a massy, rough-hewn pedestal, intended to indicate the Island of Great Britain, and its surrounding waves. On an elevation, near the centre, stands the Premier, in his robes, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the attitude of an Orator. Below him, on an intermediate ground, are the statues of Apollo and Mercury, the former being introduced as significant of Eloquence and Learning, and the latter of Commerce and Policy: the National Energy, personified by a Female upborne by a Dolphin, is also introduced. The fore-ground, or lower part, is occupied by a majestic figure of Britannia on a sea-horse, grasping a thunderbolt in her right hand, and sustaining a trident in her left. The inscription was written by the late Right Hon. George Canning.

In this Hall, which is sufficiently large to contain



7000 persons, the Inauguration Dinners of the Lord Mayors have constantly been given since the building of the Kitchen, by Sir John Shaw, in 1501. The Entertainments are always splendid, but particularly so at those times when the reigning Sovereign, and the Royal Family honour the Corporation with their presence, (as is customary on the first Lord Mayor's Day after a Coronation) or when direct Invitations to Civic Feasts are given on the recurrence of important state events.

But the grandest Entertainment that was ever celebrated at Guildhall, was on the 18th of June, 1814, when the Corporation of London was gratified by a visit from the Prince Regent, now George IV., and all the Royal and Illustrious personages who came into this country after the final overthrow of the Emperor Buonaparte, and the re-establishment of the Monarchy of France.

The subjoined particulars of the splendid manner, in which the Hall was fitted up on that occasion have been extracted from an "Account" of the Prince Regent's visit, printed in 1816, under the authority of the Corporation: the accompanying view of the Banquet, and the ground Plan of the Great Hall, were also copied from the same work.

"A temporary passage was erected from the principal entrance of the Hall to the middle of Guildhall-yard, in order that Carriages might readily pass from thence through Blackwell Hall. This Passage, lined with green cloth, and the flooring covered with matting, was illuminated by a profusion of lamps, and led to the Porch of the

Hall, which was also lined with green cloth, and converted into a temporary Arbour, in which were displayed the most costly exotics, with flowering and aromatic shrubs, fancifully arranged, and ornamented with moss. This Arbour extended into the Hall, and from being illuminated with variegated lamps, had a most beautiful and pleasing effect.

“The grand Gothic Hall, with its two superbly-painted windows, suggested to the Architect the appropriate decorations of the interior, and within the short space of time allowed, an effect was produced highly creditable to his taste and exertions. The simplicity of the design, the magnitude of the parts, and, above all, the harmony of the colour, diffused a lustre over the whole, upon which the eye reposed with the most satisfied delight ; the combination had an unity, a character of strength, and a breadth and tone, the most attractive. The painted windows were externally illuminated, so as to throw into the Hall the rich and warm influence of the immense body of light by which all the gothic divisions of the two windows were articulated, and which, striking on the brilliant circle of Ladies in the Galleries, produced an effect as enchanting as novel.

“The walls of the Hall, to the underside of the capitals of the clustered columns, and the fronts of the Galleries, were covered with bright crimson cloth, elegantly and boldly fluted throughout, and so formed and festooned as to represent grand Arcades ; in the recesses of which were placed tables, illuminated with cut-glass chandeliers, reflected by handsome mirrors at the back, giving to the whole a most finished appearance. Above the range of galleries were suspended large superb cut-glass chandeliers ; and over the great cornice, and resting thereon, was a beautiful cordon of uncoloured lamps, by

which the entire length of the Hall on each side was illuminated; and the Royal Banner, and Banners of the City, with those of the twelve principal Companies were displayed underneath. The Galleries terminating by circular ends at the monuments of the late Earl of Chatham and Mr. Pitt, those monuments were left open to view; and the most magnificent cut-glass Chandeliers that could be procured were suspended from the roof over the Royal Table, and down the centre of the Hall; and a great number of gold and silver Candelabra, with wax lights, were most tastefully disposed on every table.

“In order to increase the effect of the illuminations, the windows in the upper part of the Hall, above the great cornice, were darkened; and some of them were made to open, that full and complete ventilation might be obtained, which was most amply afforded as occasion required, by men stationed on the roofs for that purpose; and means were adopted for an abundant supply of water to various parts of the Hall.

“The Committee having been under the necessity of directing the Music Gallery from the Irish Chamber to be removed, for the more convenient accommodation of the Ladies, and that the line of the fronts of their Galleries might not lose its effect, by being broken or interrupted, other Galleries were erected for two full Military Bands over the entrance leading to the Council Chamber, and above the Ladies' Galleries. This was effected by removing the great clock, and had this advantage, that from the height of the bands the effect was more imposing, and the Ladies' Gallery on this side of the Hall, corresponded with the opposite, and was not interfered with by the arrangements, as the access to the Music Galleries was obtained from the roof.

“Orchestras for Vocal performers were erected at the

upper end of the Hall, under the Ladies' Galleries, which, projecting in a small degree beyond them, rather relieved than interrupted the uniformity of the fronts of the Galleries.

“Immediately adjoining these Orchestras, at the circular return of the Galleries, fronting the Royal Table, were affixed white satin Banners, with the Arms of England, Russia, and Prussia united: these Banners the Committee have since directed to be suspended in the Guildhall, to convey to posterity the circumstance of this glorious Union of Great Nations.

“At the upper or eastern end of the Hall, on a platform elevated above the level of the floor, covered with Turkey carpeting, was placed a very large Table, at which stood three massive carved and gilt chairs, covered with crimson velvet, decorated with gold fringes, under a lofty Canopy of rich crimson velvet, lined with crimson sarsnet, and rich velvet draperies reaching to the floor, tied back with gold ropes. In front of the dome of the Canopy were placed the Sword and Sceptre; and on the top, the Royal Crown of the United Kingdom, boldly carved on a large scale, and gilt; over which hovered a Dove, with the Olive Branch, in proper colours as in the act of alighting, in allusion to the leading happy circumstances of the times, and in compliment to the Three Great Personages: the whole producing an effect of simple grandeur, consistent with the object of this magnificent entertainment.

“The Members of the Common Council, in their mazarine gowns, arranged themselves in two lines across the Hall, and from thence to the Common Council, and New Council Chambers, which were richly fitted up as Drawing Rooms for the occasion; and the whole of the floor from the entrance to the great Hall to those

Rooms was covered with crimson carpeting. The Court of King's Bench was also fitted up as a Drawing Room, the end of which was filled with a beautiful transparent painting, by the late James Barry, R.A."

On the day of the Entertainment, the Prince Regent and his Royal Visitors, proceeded in State to Guildhall, and were at first conducted into the Common-Council Chamber, where a suitable address from the Corporation was read by the Recorder, after which the Prince Regent conferred the dignity of a Baronet on Sir William Domville, the Lord Mayor. At seven o'clock, dinner was announced, and the "Royal and Illustrious Company passed from the Drawing Rooms into the Hall in regular State procession."

The State Table, which was placed upon the platform in the Great Hall, was twelve feet wide, and most sumptuously set out with gold plate. "Its richness, indeed," says the Report, "was unparalleled: magnificent ornaments in candelabra, epergnes, tureens, ewers, cups, dishes, glaciers, &c. being selected for the purpose; and the great body of light thrown thereon, produced a most striking and brilliant effect."\* A profusion of the most rare and costly aromatic shrubs were also placed upon the floor and upon stages in front of the State Table; at which the following guests were seated:—Under the canopy, the Prince Regent, with the Emperor of Rus-

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\* There were also two side-boards, one at each extremity of the platform, loaded with massive services of plate. The State Table displayed a number of small flags, richly ornamented with the arms of the Sovereigns and Princes who sat around it.



sia on his right hand, and the King of Prussia on his left :—to the right of the canopy, the Duke of York, Prince Henry of Prussia, the Dukes of Cambridge, Orleans, and Saxe Weimer, Prince Augustus of Prussia, Duke of Oldenburgh, Count de Merveldt, Prince of Hardenburgh, and Count Fernan Nunez, Duke of Montellano :—to the left of the canopy, the Grand Duchess of Oldenburgh, the Hereditary Prince of Wirtemberg, the Countess of Lieven, the Duke of Kent, the Prince of Bavaria, Prince Metternech, the Prince de Cobourg, the Duke of Gloucester, Prince William of Prussia, the Prince of Orange, and the Princess Volkonskè.

The Dinner, which “ was as sumptuous as expense or skill could make it, was served wholly on *plate*,” the value of which was estimated to exceed 200,000*l*. One of the picturesque accompaniments of this banquet, was a large Baron of Beef, with the Royal Standard, which was placed on a stage at the upper end of the Hall, and attended by the Serjeant Carvers, and one of the principal Cooks, in proper *costume*.—The entire expense of this Entertainment, to the Corporation of London, is stated at nearly 25,000*l*.—On the 9th of July following, another splendid Banquet was given by the City, in this Hall, to the Duke of Wellington, who was accompanied by several of the Royal Dukes, the principal State Ministers, Nobility, and Judges, many Foreign Ambassadors, and a numerous host of the Military and Naval Heroes, who had so gloriously maintained the superiority of the English arms during the revolu-



tionary wars with France.—It would extend this article too much, to enter into a detailed account of the other parts of Guildhall ; a few additional particulars must therefore suffice.

Great alterations have been made in the state and appropriation of the interior Chambers, since the erection, within the last eight years, of the new *Courts of King's Bench* and *Common Pleas*, on the site of Guildhall Chapel, and of the new *Court* for the *Commissioners of Bankrupts*, &c. on the site of Blackwell Hall. Those Courts were previously held *within* Guildhall itself, but in consequence of the numerous inconveniencies resulting from the multitude of persons attending at one time, on all the variety of business connected with the City, it was, at length, deemed necessary to remove them into new buildings without the Hall, yet sufficiently contiguous to keep the whole, as before, within one focus.

The *Common-Council Room* is a compact and well-proportioned apartment, appropriately fitted up for the assembly of the Court of Common Council, which consists of the Lord Mayor, twenty Aldermen, and 236 Deputies from the City Wards. The middle part is formed into a square by four Tuscan arches, sustaining a cupola, from which the light is admitted. Here is a splendid collection of Paintings, and some Statuary ; for the former the City is chiefly indebted to the munificence of the late Mr. Alderman John Boydell, who was Lord Mayor in 1791. The principal picture however, was executed at the expense of the Corporation, by J. S. Copley, R. A. in honour

of the gallant defence of Gibraltar by General Elliot, afterwards Lord Heathfield : it measures twenty-five feet in width, and about twenty in height, and represents the *Destruction of the Floating Batteries* before the above fortress, on September the 13th, 1782. The principal figures, which are as large as life, are portraits of the Governor and Officers of the Garrison.\* Here, also, are four other pictures, by Paton, representing important events in that celebrated Siege ; and two by Dodd, of the Engagement in the West Indies, between Admirals Rodney and De Grasse, on April the 12th, 1782.

Against the south wall, are portraits of Lord Heathfield, after Sir Joshua Reynolds ; the Marquis Cornwallis, by Copley ; Admiral Lord Viscount Hood, by Abbott ; and Mr. Alderman Boydell, by Sir William Beechey ; also, a large picture, of the Murder of David Rizzio, by Opie. On the north wall, is Sir William Walworth killing Wat Tyler, by Northcote ; and the following portraits, viz. Admiral Lord Rodney, after Monnoyer ; Admiral Earl Howe, copied by G. Kirkland ; Admiral Lord Duncan, by Hoppner ; Admirals the Earl of St. Vincent's, and Lord Viscount Nelson, by Sir William Beechey ; and David Pinder, Esq. by Opie. The subjects of three other pictures are more strictly municipal, namely : the *Ceremony of administering the Civic*

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\* The artist had the privilege of exhibiting this picture for a time to the public, in a temporary building in the Green Park : it cost the City 1543l. 6s.

*Oath* to Mr. Alderman Newnham as Lord Mayor, on the Hustings at Guildhall, November the 8th, 1782 : this was painted by Miller, and includes upwards of 140 portraits of Aldermen, City Officers, Members of the Common Council, &c. ; the *Lord Mayor's Shew*, on the Water, November the 9th ; the vessels by Paton, the figures by Wheatley ; and the *Royal Entertainment in Guildhall*, on the 18th of June, 1814, by Wm. Daniell, R. A.\*

Within an elevated niche of dark-coloured marble, at the upper end of the room, is a fine Statue, in white marble, by Chantry, of his late Majesty George the Third, which was executed at the cost to the City of 3089l. 9s. 5d. He is represented in his royal robes, with the right hand extended, as in the act of answering an Address, the scroll of which he is holding in his left hand. At the western angles of the chamber are Busts, in white marble, of Admiral Lord Viscount Nelson, by Mrs. Damer ; and the Duke of Wellington, by Turnerelli.

The *Crypt* under the great Hall is in excellent preservation, and a very fine specimen of this kind of substructure, though, unfortunately, excluded from daylight, by the rise of ground on the exterior, and the blocking up of windows. It extends the whole length of the Hall, east and west, but is separated into two nearly equal parts, by a substantial wall of masonry. The entrance is groined, and divided by piers and arches into three aisles. Its height is

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\* From Sharpe's engraving from the above, the annexed print of the Entertainment was copied.

about thirteen feet ; the entrance is by a descent of several steps, and a wide doorway at the east end. The interior is now used for storing up the planks, benching, tressels, &c. employed in the arrangements of Civic festivities.

GUILDHALL CHAPEL, which was a venerable structure, adjoining to the Great Hall, on the east side, was pulled down in 1822, to make room for the new Law Courts. It was originally founded about the year 1299, and in the following century, a *Chantry*, with four Chaplains, was established within it. Henry the VIth, in his eighth year, granted a license for rebuilding the Chapel, or *College*, as it was then styled ; and, in his 27th year, he empowered the Parish Clerks of London to have a *Guild*, dedicated to St. Nicholas, with two Chaplains in the said Chapel. Edward the VIth, after the Suppression, sold this Chapel, and its appurtenances within the City, to the Corporation, to be held in soccage of the Manor of Greenwich. Among other eminent Citizens, John de Welles, Mayor in 1431 ; Thomas Kneseworth, or Kneesworth, Mayor in 1505, and Sir John Langley, Mayor in 1576, were buried in this Chapel.\* In the west front was a large and handsome pointed-arched window ; before which, on the lower part, within heavy

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\* On digging for the foundations of the New Courts, in the summer of 1822, a sepulchre was discovered containing a stone coffin, on the lid of which was sculptured a cross, with this inscription : *Godefrey Letrovmpovr* : GIST : CI : DEV : DEL : EALME : EIT : MERCI.—In the "Gentleman's Magazine," for July, 1822, is a wood-cut and description of this coffin.

niches, were full-sized Statues of Edward VI. ; Queen Elizabeth, with a Phoenix ; and Charles I. treading upon a Globe.

Stow informs us, that, adjoining to this edifice, there was " sometime a fayre and large *Librarie* (furnished with bookes pertaining to the Guildhall and College) which was builded by the executors of Sir R. Whittington, and by William Burie ; but is now lofted and made a store-house for clothes."—" The bookes, as it is said, were, in the reign of Edward the Sixth, sent for by Edward, Duke of Somerset, Lord Protector, with promise to be restored shortly : men laded from thence three carriers with them, but [they were] never returned."\*

On what foundation this vague charge against the probity of the Protector Somerset rests, it is now, perhaps, impossible to ascertain ; and after all, three *Carriers*,† understanding porters by that appellation, could take away but a very limited number of volumes of any great size or bulk. Stow speaks of the "*Custos* of the Library of the Guildhall," and of the " Bookes, pertaining to the Guildhall and College ;" yet the fair inference from all which he has stated on the subject, is, that the Library was exclusively the property of Guildhall Chapel, or, more correctly speaking, of " The Chapel of our Lady

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\* Stow's London," p. 219 : edit. 1598.

† Not *Carries*, as Pennant, quoting from the inaccurately-printed edition of Stow, in 1618, has spelt the word, and by marking it in Italics, shewn his own ignorance of the corruption.

Mary Magdalen and of All Saints, *by the Guildhall, called London College;*" the full establishment of which consisted of a Custos, or Warden, seven Priests, three Clerks, and four Choristers. Even admitting the books to have actually been removed by Somerset, it may be presumed that they were not taken away until after the suppression of the Chapel, and whilst it yet remained in the power of the crown.\*

It is a singular and extraordinary fact, that such a powerful body as the Corporation of London should, almost to the present period, have given so little encouragement to Literature, as scarcely to have had a printed book in their possession! This reproach, however, is now in a rapid course of removal, for early in the year 1824, it was unanimously resolved, to establish a Library in Guildhall, under the direction of thirteen members of the Common Council; and in order to carry this resolution into practice, 200*l.* per annum was granted for the purchase of books, and 500*l.* as an outfit. The collection already includes many rare and valuable publications on Civic

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\* It appears, from Newcourt's "Repertorium," pp. 132—217, that this Chapel was not granted to the City until the 4th of Edward VI. Its clear value, according to Sancroft's MS. Valor. was 13*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* per annum. From the Notes to Dr. Knight's "Life of Dean Colet," (pp. 85, 86,) it appears, that if the Wardenship of this College was not filled up within twenty-four days after every vacancy, the Bishop of London, or his Vicar-General, when the See was full, and the Dean of St. Paul's, when the See was vacant, was to present the Warden.



history and topography : and the Committee are particularly anxious to render it a complete store of the first works of authority on municipal subjects. A department of maps, plans, and prints, relating to London, and generally, to the property of the City, is attached to the Library, and a Librarian has been recently appointed ; but how far the collection will be rendered available to the public, is as yet undetermined. The City muniments, comprising ancient charters, records, &c. under the care of the Town Clerk, comprise one of the most valuable collections now extant.

BLACKWELL HALL, which adjoined to the south side of Guildhall Chapel, was an edifice of much note, both from the remoteness of its date, and from the use to which it was appropriated for centuries. Stow, who attributes its foundation to " the age posterior to the Conquest," says, that it was " builded upon vaults of Caen stone," and that of " olde time," it belonged to the [mercantile] family of the Basings, which was in this realm a name of great antiquity and renowne," and several of whom were Sheriffs of London, at different periods, from the time of King John to the reign of Edward the Second.\* From that family, it was called *Basing's Haugh*, or *Hall*,

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\* " Survey of London," p. 227 : edit. 1598. The arms of the Basings, " a gerond of twelve points, golde and azure," were " abundantlie placed in sundry partes of that house, even in the stone worke, but more especially in the walles of the Hall, which carried a continuall painting of them, on every side, so close together as one escutcheon could be placed by another."—Ibid.

and it gave name to the surrounding Ward (which was principally built on the land of the "*Basings*"), now corruptly called *Bassishaw* Ward.

In the 36th of Edward III., Basing's Hall was the dwelling of Thomas Bakewell: in the next reign (20th Richard II.) it was purchased by the City, under the appellation of *Bakewall Hall* (afterwards corrupted into Blackwell Hall), together with two gardens, one messuage, two shops, and other appurtenances in the adjoining Parishes of St. Michael and St. Lawrence, for the sum of 50*l*. Immediately afterwards, the buildings were converted into a storehouse and market-place for the sale of every kind of woollen cloth that should be brought into London; and it was ordered, that no woollen cloth should be sold elsewhere, under pain of forfeiture, unless it had at first been lodged, &c. at the common market in this Hall. The ground-work of these regulations was to prevent frauds in the manufacture of cloths, which might bring English commerce into discredit in Foreign markets; and the regulations themselves were protected by divers ordinances and proclamations. On the establishment of Christ's Hospital, by Edward VI., a part of the revenue of the Hall was applied to the support of that charity, and the management of the warehouses was vested in its Governors; but, from the progressive alterations which took place in the mode of conducting the woollen trade during the two last centuries, the Blackwell Hall market has been wholly diverted into new channels.

The mansion of the Basings having become ruinous,

a new Hall was erected upon its site in the latter part of Queen Elizabeth's reign. That building was mostly destroyed by the Great Fire, after which, about 1672, the late extensive pile was erected: it inclosed two quadrangular courts, and had three spacious entrances by arched gateways. The principal entrance, in Guildhall Yard, was flanked by two columns of the Doric order, sustaining an entablature and pediment; among the ornaments, were sculptures of the Royal Arms and of the Arms of the City.

ANTIQUITIES OF THE SEE OF LONDON.—FOUNDATION  
OF ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.—EARLY SIMONY.—  
HISTORY OF THE CATHEDRAL TO THE  
NORMAN TIMES.

The origin of the Ecclesiastical Government of this Diocese, is involved in great obscurity: yet, without attending either to the legend of King Lucius, and his conversion to Christianity about the middle of the second century, or that of the Arch-Flamens, whom Geoffrey of Monmouth has seated at York, Caerleon, and London, there can be little doubt of there having been a Bishop of this City previously to the year 326, at which time *Restitutus*, who was present at the second Council of Arles, in France, subscribed his name and style in these words: "*Ex Provincia Britannicæ Civitate Londinensi Restitutus Episcopus.*" But whatever might have been the early prevalence of Christianity in this Diocese,

it had certainly been afterwards supplanted by the Pagan worship of the Saxons.

At the landing of Augustin, "the Apostle of the English," in Kent, and the conversion of the Kentish Saxons, King Ethelbert, to whom all the country, south of the Humber, appears to have been feudatory, erected a Cathedral Church on the site of the present St. Paul's, in the year 610. London, which, according to the venerable Bede, was "the emporium of many nations," having been fixed on for a Bishop's See by Augustin himself; and Mellitus, one of the companions of his Mission, was appointed its first Bishop, in 604. Sebert, nephew of King Ethelbert (and founder of Westminster Abbey), was at that period King of the East Saxons, and his Kingdom, which included the Counties of Middlesex and Essex, and part of Hertfordshire, was commensurate with the extent of the present Diocese.

On the decease both of Ethelbert and Sebert, in 1616, their subjects relapsed into Paganism, and Mellitus was expelled from his See by the three Sons of Sebert, to whom he had refused the Communion of the Sacrament, unless they would consent to be baptized. Bede has thus related the particulars of this transaction, which most probably took place within St. Paul's Church.

"The death of King Sabareth," [Sebert,] says Bede, "much increased the trouble and persecution of the Church. He departing to the everlasting kingdom of Heaven, left his three sons, who were yet Pagans, heirs of his temporal kingdom on earth. Immediately on their

father's decease, they began openly to practice idolatry, though whilst he lived they had somewhat refrained, and also gave free license to their subjects to worship idols. At a certain time, these Princes, seeing the Bishop administering the Sacrament to the people in the Church, after the celebration of Mass, and being puffed up with rude and barbarous folly, spake (as the common report is) thus unto him.

“ ‘Why dost thou not give us; also, some of that white bread, which thou didst give to our father Saba, (for so they were wont to call their father Sabareth,) and which thou dost not yet cease to give to the people in the Church?’ He answered, ‘If ye will be washed in that wholesome font, wherein your father was, ye may likewise eat of this blessed bread, whereof he was a partaker; but if ye condemn the lavatory of life, ye can in no wise taste the bread of life.’ ‘We will not,’ they rejoined, ‘enter into this font of water, for we know we have no need to do so; but we will eat of that bread nevertheless.’ And when they had been often and earnestly warned by the Bishop, that it could not be, and that no man could partake of this most holy oblation, without purification, and cleansing by baptism, they at length, in the height of their rage, said to him, ‘Well, if thou wilt not comply with us in the small matter we ask, thou shalt no longer abide in our province and dominions;’ and straightway they expelled him, commanding that he, and all his company, should quit their realm.”

After this expulsion, the See continued vacant nearly forty years, but at length, through the persuasions of Oswy, King of Northumberland, Sigebert, surnamed the Good, who had succeeded to the East-Saxon throne, about 653, became a Christian, and appointed a Nor-

thumbrian Priest, named Cedda, or Ceadda, to this Bishopric, and "that change," Bishop Godwin remarks, "he attended painfully many years!" Cedda died of the plague in 664; soon afterwards, Wina, a Frenchman, who had been expelled from the See of Winchester, was appointed to this Diocese, which he is stated to have *purchased* from Wulfhere, King of Mercia, and thus became "the first *Simonist*," says the above author, "that is mentioned in our Histories." Erkinwald, the next Bishop, expended "great cost in the fabric," as Dugdale informs us, and much augmented the revenue of this Church "with his own estate." He likewise obtained for it "divers ample privileges," and after his decease, in 685, acquired so much renown by his miracles, that he was canonized as a Saint, and had "his body translated to a glorious Shrine in the east port of the Church, above the high altar."\*

During the successive centuries, from that time to the Conquest, the immunities and possessions of this Cathedral were greatly increased by different Sovereigns, and other benefactors; and the Norman Conqueror himself, following the example of his Saxon predecessors, confirmed to St. Paul's, about 1070, all its estates and privileges, by a Charter, concluding with the words, "for I Will, that the Church, in all things, be as free as I would my Soul should be at the Day of Judgment."

Sometime prior to the year 1083, the Saxon

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\* Dugdale's "History of St. Paul's," p. 4: edit. 1658.



Church, being “roofed with timber, was destroyed by fire, together with the greater part of the City. After that event, Bishop Maurice, the King’s Chaplain and Councillor, “conceived the vast design,” and commenced “the erection of the magnificent structure which immediately preceded the present Cathedral;”—a work, says Stow, “that men of that time judged wold never have bin finished, it was to them so wenderfull for length and breadth.”\*

WESTMINSTER ABBEY.—BURIAL PLACE OF THE GOOD  
QUEEN MAUD.

On the north side of St. Edward the Confessor’s Chapel, in Westminster Abbey, repose the ashes of the *Good Queen Maud*, as she has been styled by the Monkish writers in compliment to her superstitious piety. She was the daughter of Malcolm, King of Scotland, by Margaret, sister to Edgar Atheling, and was married to Henry the First, in November, 1100, in order to insure the future peace of the kingdom by the union of the Saxon and Norman dynasties. Alured calls her “a *blessed Queen*,” and the “Annals of Waverley” affirm, that “her virtues were so great, an entire day would not suffice to recount them.” She was

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\* “Survey of London,” p. 262 : edit. 1598. Malmesbury, speaking of the Norman edifice, “*De Gestis Pontif. lib. ii.*” has this passage,—“*tanta est decoris magnificentia, ut merito inter præclara numeretur ædificia: tanta Criptæ laxitas; tanta superioris ædis capacitas, ut cuilibet populi multitudini videatur posse sufficere.*”

accustomed to pass several days and nights together in Westminster Abbey, to which she gave many reliques ; and in Lent time, she came to the Church in a garment of hair, bare-footed, and bare-legged, to perform her devotions, and to wash and kiss the feet of the poor. For this excess of humility, she was once reprimanded by a Courtier, whose reproof, with the Queen's reply, is thus recorded in the Rhyming Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester :

‘ Madame, for Goddes love is this well idoo  
To handle sich unclene lymmes, and to kiss so ;  
Foule wolde the Kynge thynk if that he wiste,  
And ryght wel avyle hym or he your mouth kiste !’  
“ Sur, sur,” s<sup>d</sup> the Quene, “ be stille ; why sayst thou so?  
Our Lord hymself ensamble gaf so for to do.”

This Princess died on May-day 1118, or 1119, and was buried in the Old Chapter House at Westminster ; but Henry III., on re-building the Abbey Church, caused her remains to be re-interred in St. Edward's Chapel. The precise spot of her interment is unknown, but most probably, it is immediately under the tomb of King Edward the 1st ; the word **Regina**, (forming part of an ancient inscription, in black letter), being still to be traced on the basement at the north-west angle of that tomb, within which, and above the pavement of the Chapel, the embalmed corpse of the King is known to be deposited.\*

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\* The last time that King Edward's tomb was opened, was on May 2, 1774 : the body was found richly habited and almost entire.

PRIORY OF THE KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM, IN ST. JOHN'S SQUARE.—BENEDICTINE NUNNERY IN CLERKENWELL CLOSE.—ST. JAMES'S CHURCH.—SIR THOMAS CHALLONER'S, AND NEWCASTLE HOUSE.—DUCHESS OF NEWCASTLE.—DUCHESS OF ALBEMARLE.—KNIGHTS HOSPITALLERS.

Both the *Priory of St. John of Jerusalem*, in St. John's Square, and the *Convent for Benedictine Nuns*, in Clerkenwell Close, were founded by Jordan Briset\* (*Baron*, as Stow entitles him), and Muriel, his wife, in the year 1100 (1st of Henry I.), but there is some difficulty in ascertaining which foundation had the actual priority of date. They were probably contemporaneous in design; but Stow and Dugdale say, that the Nunnery was *first* founded, although the charter granted by Briset to Robertus, his chaplain, appears to intimate the contrary, as it directs that the land given for the Nunnery "be free of all incumbrance, so that the *Hospitallers* should have no claim upon it."† Briset, also, gave to Robert, as an additional endowment for the Nunnery, a site for a mill, "salva et retenta propria mea multura et primo loco molendini." By another charter, addressed to Robert, Bishop of London, Briset states, that he had directed this foundation to be for Grey *Monks* or *Nuns*, and

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\* He was grand-son to Brian Briset, whose arms were a Griffin, volant.

† Dugdale's "Monasticon," Caley's edit. vol. ii.

that his Chaplain, Robert, was to be considered the patron of the convent during his life, but after his decease the Nuns were to hold their possessions as of Briset and his heirs.

Briset's original grant for the Nunnery, comprised fourteen acres of land, *in campo "qui juxta Fontem Clericorum situs est ;—*and on the elevated ground forming, in after times, the east side of Clerkenwell Close, the conventual buildings were erected. At that remote period, the surrounding prospects must have been very rural and beautiful ; as the country was entirely open, except towards the south-east, and even on that side scarcely anything interrupted the view till the walls and towers of the City arrested the eye with majestic grandeur.

According to Stow and Weever, both Jordan Briset, who died on the 15th of the kalends of December, 1110, and Muriel, his wife, who died on the 1st of the kalends of May, 1112, were interred in the Nuns' chapter-house ; but Dugdale says, that the latter was buried in the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem. Lecia, their eldest daughter, was married to Henry Foliot, knt. and those persons (besides gifts\*)

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\* One of the grants is thus mentioned in a Register of this Priory now in the British Museum : vide Cott. Lib. *Faustina*, B. ii. 3. " De dono Henr. Foliot et Letie ux' ej' de 3 acr' in villa de Clerkenwelle intra vallum ve'ris vit'iarii versus aquilonem, et 3 acr' intra 5 acras earund' monialium et vet' fossatum. It appears, from the same Register, that the Nuns had possessions in several parishes within the City, and in many parts of Middlesex.

confirmed to the Church, &c. of St. Mary of Clerk-enwell,—*Ecclesia Beatae Mariæ de fonte Clericorum*,—ten acres of land, on which the Nunnery and its offices stood, together with other lands at Newington, Wanstead, &c. In their charter, *Skinneres-welle*, *Gode-welle*, the *bars of Smethefeld*, and the rivulet of *Fagg-es-welle*, are mentioned, together with mesuages, &c. between the said rivulet and *Chikenes-lane*.\*

Many benefactors contributed to increase the possessions of this Establishment, and among its Prioresses were several Ladies of high birth and family eminence. At the Dissolution in Henry the Eighth's reign, its annual revenues, according to Steevens and Bishop Tanner, were valued at 256l. 5s. 8d. ; but Dugdale states them at 262l. 19s., and Speed at 282l. 16s. 5d. Isabel Sackville, the last lady-prioress, who was the youngest daughter of Sir Richard Sackville, ancestor to the Earls and Dukes of Dorset, had a pension of 50l. per annum, granted to her by Henry VIII. She died in advanced age, on the 21st of October, 1570, and three days afterwards was buried in the choir of the Nuns' Church, which had been granted on lease for the use of the Parish, but appears

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\* On the west side of Smithfield: this was afterwards shortened into *Chick-Lane*, which appellation, from the Lane becoming notorious for its ill-repute and bad neighbourhood, was, about eighteen or twenty years ago, changed into West-street. It still, however, as Lancelot Gobbo says, 'smacketh of the old leaven,' and its new name has neither advanced its reputation, nor improved its character. ♡

to have been re-dedicated in honour of *St. James*. Many other persons of rank and distinction were interred in that fabric, which having been principally erected in the Norman times, at length became completely ruinous, and was finally demolished about 1788, in which year an act of Parliament was obtained for erecting a new Church on the same spot, at the expense of the parishioners. At the same time, the remains of the Nuns' hall and cloisters were pulled down, except some slight vestiges of the latter among the buildings at the back of the Church.

In the 5th of Edward the Sixth, the site of the Nunnery was alienated by the crown to Thomas Culpeper, esq. and by him, in the same year, to John Aylworth, of *Maribone*, esq. for the sum of 500l. It was afterwards in the possession of Sir Thomas Challoner, knt. ; and it became the inheritance of Sir William Cavendish, knt. afterwards Earl, Marquis, and Duke of Newcastle, who so greatly distinguished himself for his loyalty to Charles I.

Fuller, in his "Church History," (B. vi. p. 278,) which was published in 1655, gives this information : — "Sir Thomas Challoner (tutor, [rather Governor] as I take it, to Prince Henry), not long agoe built a spacious House within the Close of this Priory, upon the frontispiece whereof these verses were inserted, not unworthy of remembrance :

"Casta fides superest, velatæ tecta Sorores  
Ista relegatæ, deseruere licet :  
Nam venerandus Hymen hic vota jugalia servat,  
Vestalemque focem mente fovere studet."



Chast Faith still stayes behinde, though hence be flown  
 Those veyled Nuns, who here before did neste ;  
 For reverend Marriage wedlock vows doth own,  
 And sacred flames keeps here in loyall brest.

Another translation of this inscription has been given in the "Biographia Britannica,"\* (article *Chaloner*) which work ascribes the original verse to Sir Thomas Chaloner, the elder ; and to him, also, it assigns the erection of the "fair large house, over-against the decayed nunnery, in Clerkenwell Close. Fuller's words, however, "not long agoe," and therefore meaning, probably, in his own time, militates against that assertion ; and if we admit that the mansion of the Challoners was that afterwards called *Newcastle House*, but little doubt upon the subject can remain, as the latter edifice was built far more in the

\* The latter translation was as follows :

"This House no more the veil-clad Virgins grace,  
 Yet Faith, unspotted, still maintains her place ;  
 For sacred Hymen's rites like honours claim,  
 And his bright torch illumines the vestal flame."

Presuming that the original verse was written by the younger Challoner, we may regard it as an ingenious compliment to his first wife, who was the daughter of Fleetwood, the celebrated Recorder of London in Queen Elizabeth's reign. The following line, inscribed upon a Sun-dial within the precincts of the Nunnery, is ascribed to the elder Chaloner :

"*Non aliter pereo species quam futilis umbræ.*"

The fleeting Shade describes its Day and mine,  
 For Life and Light by the same steps decline.

style of James the First's reign, than in that of the early part of Queen Elizabeth's, for if raised by the elder Challoner, it must have been previously to his decease, in October, 1565. Weever may be quoted, also, in support of this inference, his words being as follow:—"Within the Close of this Nunnery is a spacious fair house, *built of late*, by Sir 'Thomas Challoner, knt. deceased." It was a long edifice of brick, enclosed by a wall, and having gates and a small court before the middle entrance. Its last occupant was an eminent cabinet-maker, named Mallet; some time after whose decease it was wholly demolished, and the buildings, called *Newcastle Place*, were erected in its place about thirty years ago.

That eccentric literary extravaganza, *Margaret*, Duchess of Newcastle, resided at Newcastle House for several years after the Restoration, and there she composed a part of those verbose and numerous works which have procured her the renown of having been the most prolific of female writers. Though highly flattered in her own day, not only by the unlettered, whom her rank and affluence may have influenced, but likewise by men of eminent attainments in literature, and by collegiate bodies in both Universities, her productions have long fallen into almost total disregard. It has been truly said, that "academic flattery is, of all others, the most shameless and unpardonable;" and none, perhaps, that was ever concocted in academic bowers was more gross and fulsome than the adulation lavished upon

her Grace from the groves of the Cam and Isis.\* "Of all the riders of Pegasus," Walpole pleasantly remarks, "there have not been a more fantastic couple than his Grace and his faithful Duchess, who was never off her pillion." The great services which they had rendered to the royal cause rendered them extremely popular after the Restoration, and the fantastic dress and habits of her Grace contributed to keep up the excitement. It would seem, from a passage in Pepys's "Diary," that Charles the Second visited her at Newcastle House, in April, 1667, on her arrival in town. The next night she was expected at Court to visit the Queen; and Pepys remarks, "There is as much expectation of her coming, that so people may come to see her, as if it were the Queen of Sweden." In the following month she was present at a meeting of the Royal Society, in Arundell House, to which she had been invited at her own desire, "after much debate, *pro* and *con*." Pepys gives the ensuing particulars of this visit.

"Anon comes the Duchesse, with her women attending her; among others, the *Ferabosco*, of whom so much talk is that her Lady would bid her show her face and kill the gallants: she is indeed black, and hath good black little eyes, but otherwise a very ordinary woman I do think, but they say sings well. The Duchesse hath been a good, comely woman; but her dress so antick, and her deportment so ordinary, that I do not like her

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\* See "Biographia Britannica," article, *Cavendish* (Margaret), for many instances of this reprehensible folly, and abject degradation of talents and learning.

at all, nor did I hear her say anything that was worth hearing, but that she was full of admiration, all admiration. Several fine experiments were shewn her of colours, loadstones, microscopes, and of liquors ; among others, of one that did, while she was there, turn a piece of roasted mutton into pure blood, which was very rare. After they had shown her many experiments, and she cried still she was full of admiration, she departed, being led out and in by several lords who were there.”\*

Of the life of her husband, the Duke, which the “*Biographia Britannica*” has characterized as “the most estimable of her productions,” though abounding “in trifling circumstances,” Pepys thus writes ; —“*Staid at home reading the ridiculous History of my Lord Newcastle, wrote by his wife ; which shows her to be a mad, conceited, ridiculous woman, and he an asse to suffer her to write what she writes to him and of him.*”† There is a story current, that the Duke, when in a peevish humour, being once complimented by a friend, on the great wisdom of his wife, made answer, “Sir, a very wise woman is a very foolish thing !”

Her Grace died in December, 1673, and was interred in the north transept of Westminster Abbey ; where also the Duke himself, whose decease occurred on Christmas day, 1676, in his eighty-fourth year, was afterwards buried. He had previously erected the stately monument which commemorates their decease ; and upon the tomb of which are recumbent statues

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\* Pepys's “*Diary*,” vol. iii. p. 229. † *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 73.

of this illustrious couple in white marble, lying on a mat and mattress, with their heads reposing on embroidered cushions. The Duke is partly clad in armour, but has an ermined mantle, a huge perriwig, and a neckcloth tied in a large bow beneath the chin. His Duchess is arrayed in a long flowing mantle, lined with ermine, and fastened across the breast by a jewelled broach: at the elbows are large ruffles: the breast and lower part of the arms are exposed. Her hair is braided over the forehead, but descends in ringlets upon the neck and shoulders: large pearls are pendent from her ears. Her right hand supports a part of her drapery; her left sustains an open book, with a pen-case and ink-horn. The inscribed epitaph has been rendered memorable by the remarks of Addison: the English part of it is as follows:

“ Here lyes the **LOYALL DUKE of NEWCASTLE** and his **DUCHESS**, his second Wife, by whome he had no issue: her name was **MARGARETT LUCAS**, youngest sister to the Lord Lucas, of Colchester: a noble familie, for all the Brothers were Valiant, and all the Sisters Virtuous. This Dutches was a wise, wittie, and learned Lady, which her many Bookes doe well testifie. She was a most Virtuous and a Loveing and carefull Wife, and was with her Lord all the time of his banishment and miseries, and when he came home never parted from him in his solitary retirements.”

The expenditure of the Duke of Newcastle in the cause of Charles the First, and his loss of property from sequestrations, is stated to have amounted to the vast sum of 941,308*l*.

Another eccentric, but much less estimable inhabitant of Newcastle House, was *Elizabeth*, Duchess of Albemarle, and afterwards of Montague. She was the eldest daughter and co-heiress of Henry, second Duke of Newcastle, and was married (Anno 1669) to Christopher Monck, second Duke of Albemarle, when the latter was only a youth of sixteen years of age. Her inordinate pride, acting on a wayward and peevish temper, made the Duke, according to Granger, frequently think a bottle a much more desirable companion than herself,\* and also induced other irregularities, for which the dissipated manners of the court furnished but too gross an example. After his decease, in 1688, at Jamaica, the Duchess, whose vast estate, inherited from her ancestors, had inflated her vanity to that degree as to produce mental aberration, resolved never again to give her hand to any one but a sovereign prince. Her great property attracted suitors, but, true to her resolution, she rejected them all, until Ralph Montague, third Lord, and first Duke of that name, achieved the conquest, by courting her as *Emperor of China*.† He also married her in that character, but afterwards played the tyrant, and kept her in such strict confinement, that her relations compelled him to produce her in open court, to prove that she was alive. Horace Walpole mentions, that Richard, Lord Ross, a man of wit, humour, and frolic,

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\* "Biographical History," vol. iv. p. 158.

† This story was dramatized by Colley Cibber, in his comedy of the "The Double Gallant, or Sick Lady's Cure."



who affected to imitate the Earl of Rochester, and had unsuccessfully pursued the Lady, addressed the following lines to Lord Montague on this match.

“ Insulting rival, never boast  
Thy conquest lately won ;  
No wonder that her heart was lost :  
Her senses first were gone.

“ From one’s that’s under Bedlam’s laws  
What glory can be had ?  
For love of thee was not the cause :  
It proves that she was mad.”

The Duchess survived her second husband nearly thirty years, and at last “ died of mere old age,” at Newcastle House, August 28th, 1738 ; aged ninety-six years. Until the time of her decease, she is said to have been constantly served on the knee, as a sovereign.

#### THE HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM.

Although the HOSPITAL, or PRIORY of ST. JOHN OF JERUSALEM, was founded as early as the year 1100, we have no account of the dedication of its Church till 1185, in which year, on the 6th of the Ides of March, that solemnity was, according to Dugdale, performed “ by the venerable father Heraclius, Patriarch of Jerusalem,” who had come to England on his artful mission from the Papal See to involve Henry the Second in the Crusades, by

proffering to him the crown of Jerusalem.\* The great altar was dedicated to St. John the Baptist, and two other altars, respectively, to St. Mary the Virgin, and St. John the Evangelist.

“ This was the chief seat, in England,” says Stow, “ of the religious Knights of St. John of Jerusalem ; whose profession was (besides their dayly sirvice of God) to defend Christians against Pagans ; and to fight for the Church ; using for their habit a black upper garment, with a white Crosse on the fore part thereof,” on a red ground. The Order of the *Knight-Hospitallers*† was first established about the year 1048, at Jerusalem, which at that period was in the possession of the Caliph of Egypt, who, in order to preserve and augment a lucrative trade with Europe, gave permission to some merchants of Italy to erect

\* See the curious anecdote of Heraclius, in vol. iii. p. 279, note.

† “ It is a most gross and ridiculous absurditie to make, as some doe, the Hospitallers and those of St. John of Jerusalem to be two Orders, that is indeed but one and the same.

“ The Brethren of this Hospital were called	{	first,	{	Hospitallers, or Knights Hospitallers, also Johannots,	}	or	{	Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, or of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, or Baptists :	}	
		afterwards, Knights of Rhodes, or the Rhodian Knights, or the Rhodians of St. John ;								
		lastly, Knights of Malta.”								

Vide Birch MSS. in the British Museum.

an Hospital for travellers and pilgrims within the walls of the "Holy city."

Camden informs us, that the Chief of this Order was, at first, styled "*Servant to the poor Servants of the Hospital at Jerusalem*;" but as the revenues of the Order increased, so did the pride of the Knights, and in process of time, their Grand Master was ranked with nobles and princes. In the thirteenth century, their manors and lordships throughout Christendom amounted to 19,000;—a proof of the vast liberality with which their<sup>e</sup> valour and piety had been rewarded, in resisting the overwhelming torrent of Mahomedan domination. The Christians were swept from the Holy Land; but the Hospitallers seized upon the Isles of Cyprus and Rhodes, and, under the new appellation of *Knights of Rhodes*, heroically sustained their renown till the Sultan Soliman, in the year 1523, invested Rhodes by sea and land with an army of 300,000 men, and after a siege of six months' duration, compelled it to surrender. Depressed by defeat, and deprived of territory, the Knights became wanderers; but in a short time they established themselves at Malta, which was given to them by the Emperor Charles V. Their style was again changed, yet, as *Knights of Malta*, they maintained their power till 1798, when Buonaparte, in his course to Egypt, seized upon their rocky island, and the then Grand Master, committing "a political suicide," surrendered it for ever. By the Treaty of Amiens, however, it was covenanted to be restored; but the possession of Malta having, by subsequent

treaties, been irrecoverably annexed to the crown of England, the Knights are now dispersed and without authority.

On the dissolution of the Order of Knights Templars, in the reign of Edward the Second, their estates and revenues in England were bestowed upon the *Knights Hospitallers*, at Clerkenwell. This accession of wealth, Camden remarks, "so opened their way to the highest honours, that their Prior ranked as the first Baron in England, and lived in the highest opulence and dignity. The luxury in which they indulged, combined, probably, with the imperative way with which they enforced the feudal rights attached to their numerous lordships, rendered them highly obnoxious to the common people, and during the insurrection under Wat Tyler, in 1381, the Priory at St. John's was set on fire, "the rebels," says Stow, "causing it to burn by the space of seven dayes together, not suffering any to quench it." The Prior's manor-house, at Highbury, was also burnt to the ground, the Temple ravaged, and other devastations committed on the property of the Knights in London, wherever found.\* The succeeding Priors,

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\* In the "Antiquarian Repertory," vol. iii. p. 402, edit. 1808, is a Petition from the Lord Prior of St. John's to the House of Commons, praying for a remission and abolition of a rent of 15s. which they paid to the King for two *forges* in Fleet Street; which were destroyed by the insurgents at the above time, "and had not been rebuilt because of the annoyance they would occasion to the neighbourhood."

or as Stow calls them, “ the *Princes* of that house,” rebuilt their Hospital in a splendid style, the Church being finished “ by Thomas Docwra, late Lord Prior there, about the year 1504, as appeareth by the inscription over the gate-house, yet remayning.”\* Camden, speaking of these Knights, says, “ this house increased to the size of a palace, and had a beautiful church, with a tower carried up to such a height as to be, while it stood, a singular ornament to the City.”†

On the suppression of this establishment, in the 32d of Henry VIII., its annual revenues, according to Speed and Dugdale, amounted to 2385l. 12s. 8d. : Leland states them at 3040 marks, or 2026l. 13s. 4d.; and Stow, whose total includes the gross receipts, at 3385l. 19s. 8d. The King allowed considerable pensions to the Knights ; and to Sir William Weston, the last Lord Prior, he granted 1000l. a year, but of this “ hee never received penny ;” for he died of grief, on the 7th of May, 1540, the very day that the Hospital was finally dissolved.‡

“ This Priory Church and House of Saint John was preserved from spoyle, or downe pulling, so long as

\* Stow’s London, p. 817 : edit. 1618.

† Vide “Britannia,” vol. ii. p. 85 : Gough’s edit. 1806.

‡ Sir William Weston was buried in the chancel of the old Church of St. James, Clerkenwell, where an altar tomb, in the architectural style of his age, was erected to his memory. He was represented by an emaciated figure lying upon a winding sheet (vide the print of his monument in Malcolm’s “Londinium Redivivum,” vol. iii.), and during the preparations for laying the foundation of the new Church, in 1788, his

King Henry the Eighth reigned, and was employed as a Store-house for the Kings toyles and Tents for Hunting, and for the Warres, &c. But in the third of King Edward the Sixth, the Church for the most part, to wit, the body and side iles, with the great bell-tower (a most curious piece of workmanship, graven, gilt, and inameled, to the great beautifying of the City, and passing all other that I have seen), was undermined and blowne up with gunpowder, the stone thereof was employed in building of the Lord Protector's house at the Strand, That part of the Quire which remaineth, with some side Chappels, was by Cardinal Poole (in the raigne of Queene Mary) closed up at the west end, and otherwise repaired, and Sir Thomas Tresham, knight, was then made Lord Prior there, with restitution of some lands, but the same was again suppressed in the first yeere of Q. Elizabeth."\*

In the 5th of James I. "all the site, circuit, and precincts, of the late Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, having thereon one great mansion-house and one great chapel [that is, the choir], and containing by estimation five acres," was granted in free socage to Ralph Freeman and his heirs. Five years afterwards,

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mouldering remains were discovered in a state not unlike the figure upon the tomb.—The body of Bishop *Gilbert Burnet* (who had lived in St. John's Square, in a house still remaining, which, between thirty and forty years ago, was inhabited by the late celebrated dissenting minister, Dr. Towers), was also found; together with the coffins of several of his family. *Dr. John Bell*, Bishop of Worcester, who died in August, 1556, was also buried in the old Church, together with many other persons of rank and affluence.

\* Stow's "Survey of London," p. 817: edit. 1618.



the choir, &c. became vested, by deed, in the then Lord Burghley, by whose daughter, Diana, it passed in marriage to Robert Bruce, afterwards Earl of Elgin, in whose family it remained till 1706. In 1721, the estate was purchased by a builder named Mitchell ("who was then erecting many houses in the neighbourhood, particularly *Red Lion Street*"), and after he had built a new west front, and fully repaired the chapel, he sold the whole, in 1723, together with two messuages fronting St. John-street, for 2950*l.* to the Commissioners for building fifty new Churches. In the same year, December 10th, the Commissioners, by deed enrolled in Chancery, set out the boundaries of a new parish, and declared the above chapel, after consecration, to be the parish church, by the name of *St. John's, Clerkenwell*: it was consecrated on the 27th of the same month. There is an extensive *crypt* beneath this edifice, with groined arches, &c. in the ancient style, but the noisome stench arising from the numerous coffins which, to the disgrace of the living, are piled up here beneath the arches, has long rendered it too offensive for inspection.

The annexed Prints of this Hospital were copied from the very scarce etchings by Hollar, which occasionally are met with in the first edition of Dugdale's "*Monasticon*." That which displays the old Front towards St. John's-street is the most curious, as all the buildings which it represents have been long destroyed, except the east end of the church. The West side shews the chapel, and contiguous buildings, as they appeared in James the First's reign: the present

west front is altogether different. The old Gateway, at the southern entrance of St. John's Square, still remains, but has been considerably altered from its original state: it shews, however, that Hollar's view could never have been strictly accurate. In James the First's reign, this Gate was the habitation of Sir Roger Wilbraham, but it has acquired much greater celebrity from having been the residence of *Edward Cave*, the projector of that invaluable repository of antiquarian lore, the "*Gentleman's Magazine*," which was first published at St. John's Gate, in the year 1730. It has long been differently appropriated: the western side and upper part constitute a respectable public-house, called the Jerusalem Tavern: on the eastern side is the parish watch-house.—Sir John Longstrother, Prior of St. John's, an adherent of Henry VI., who was taken at the Battle of Tewkesbury, May 4, 1741, was beheaded at Tewkesbury, the second day afterwards, with divers other persons.

#### INNS OF COURT IN LONDON.

The following Historical particulars of the origin, &c. of the *Inns of Court* in London, and of the ancient modes of study and discipline therein, are derived from Reeves's "*History of the English Law*." The subject would admit of much amplification, yet what is here stated will be sufficient, probably, to gratify the general reader.

There is nothing but a vague tradition to give us any trace of the places where the practisers and students of the law had their residence before the

reign of King Edward II., when we find that such places were called *Hospitals*, or *Inns of Court*, because the inhabitants of them belonged to the King's Court. One of these, called Johnson's Inn, is said to have been at Dowgate; another in *Fewter's* (i. e. *Fetter*) Lane; and another in Pater-noster Row. An ancient custom is vouched, to support a belief, that some Inn was in the neighbourhood of St. Paul's Church: it is said that the Serjeants and Apprentices [of the Law], each at his *pillar*, used to hear his client's case, and take notice thereof upon his knee; a custom which was remembered by a solemnity observed in the time of Charles I., upon the making of Serjeants, for it was then customary for them to go there in their formalities, and *choose their pillar*.

Of the origin of LINCOLN'S INN, it is reported by the learned Dugdale, that William, Earl of Lincoln, about the beginning of the above reign, being well affected to the study of the laws, first brought the professors of them to settle in a house of his, since called Lincoln's Inn. The Earl was only lessee under the Bishops of Chichester; and many succeeding bishops, in after-times, let leases of this house to certain persons, for the use and residence of the practisers and students of the law, till the 28th of Henry VIII. when the Bishop of Chichester granted the inheritance to Francis Sulyard, and his brother Eustace, both students; the survivor of whom, in the 20th of Elizabeth, sold the fee to the benchers for 520l. It seems clear, that *Thavies Inn* was inhabited at this time by lawyers. Such were the first Inns

[of Court] of which we have any account that may be depended upon.

It is, beyond dispute, that the TEMPLE was inhabited by a law Society in the reign of Edward III. On the dissolution of the order of the Knights Templars in the previous reign, their possessions came to the crown. The *New Temple*, as it was then called, to which they had removed from their house in Holborn, about the beginning of Edward the Second's reign, was granted by that King, successively, to the Earl of Lancaster, the Earl of Pembroke, and Hugh Despencer, his son, upon whose several attainders this property again devolved to the crown. In pursuance of a decree made by the great Council at Vienna, in 1324, respecting the possessions of the Templars, King Edward III. granted this building to the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, and they soon after, as the tradition is, devised it, at the rent of 10l. per annum, to divers professors of the law who came from Thavies Inn in Holborn. At the general dissolution of religious houses, when the inheritance of this Order again fell to the crown, King Henry VIII. granted the Temple premises to the Law professors on lease, and they continued tenants to the crown till the sixth year of King James I., when that King granted the inns and capital messuages known by the name of the *Inner* or *New Temple*, to Sir Julius Cæsar and others, to them and their heirs, for the use and reception of the professors and students of the law.

It is said, that some professors of the law resided

in GRAY'S INN during the reign of Edward III. under a lease from the Lord Gray of Wilton, who was seised of the inheritance, and had a mansion there. The inheritance was, in the 20th of Edward VI., purchased by the prior and monks of the monastery of Shene, in Surrey, to whom the students continued tenants, at the rent of 6l. 13s. 4d. per annum. At the Dissolution, Henry VIII. granted the inheritance to the Society at the above rent, in fee-farm.

The most authentic memorial of any settling of the law-societies in the reign of Edward III. is a demise, in the eighteenth year of that King, from Lady Clifford *apprenticiis de Banco*, "of that house near Fleet-street, called *Clifford's Inn*."

In the reign of Henry VI. there were ten lesser Inns, which were called *Inns of Chancery*; each containing at least one hundred students. These were designed as places of elementary studies; here they learned the nature of original and judicial writs, which were then considered as the first principles of the law; and for this reason, these Inns were denominated from the Chancery. When young men had made some progress here, and were more advanced in years, then they were admitted into the *Inns of Court*, which, as above-mentioned, were four in number, of which the least contained two hundred students.

A student could not reside in these Inns of Court for less than 28l. per annum, and proportionably more, if he had a servant, as most of them had. For this reason the students of the law were generally sons of persons of quality. Knights, barons, and

the greatest nobility in the kingdom often placed their children there, not so much to make the laws their study, as to form their manners, and to preserve them from the contagion of vicious habits; for, as Sir John Fortesque assures us, "all vice was there discountenanced and banished, and every thing good and virtuous was taught there; music, dancing, singing, history, sacred and profane, and other accomplishments."

Part of *Serjeant's Inn*, in Chancery Lane, was inhabited by some Serjeants in the reign of Henry IV. when it was called Farynden's Inn; the inheritance of it belonged to the Bishops of Ely. In the reign of Henry V. the whole house was demised to the judges and apprentices of the law, as appears by sums accounted for to the Bishop. In the 9th of Henry VI. it obtained the name of Hospitium Justiciariorum. In the 2d of Richard III. there is a lease of it at 4l. per annum, under the name of Serjeants' Inn.—It appears, in 21st of Henry VI., that the Serjeants then, if not before, held *Serjeants' Inn*, in Fleet-street, under a demise from the Dean and Chapter of York, at the rent of ten marks per annum. There was also *Scrope's Inn*, inhabited by Serjeants, which was sometimes called Serjeants' Inn. This was an Inn during the reign of Richard III. and was next to Ely House, opposite St. Andrew's Church, Holborn.

The Inns of Court were the four which have already been mentioned. The ten Inns of Chancery, in the reign of Henry VI., were the following: *Clifford's Inn*, which was an Inn of Chancery as early as the reign



of Henry V., and had the sign of the Black Lion. *Clement's Inn* was a residence for students in the reign of Henry IV., if not before. *New Inn* had been a common inn for travellers, and from the sign of the Virgin Mary, it was sometimes called Our Lady's Inn: this house was inhabited by the students who removed from an old Inn of Chancery, called George's Inn, near St. Sepulchre's Church without Newgate. The *Strand Inn*, otherwise Chester Inn, from its neighbourhood to the Bishop of Chester's house: this Inn, together with the Church of St. Mary-le-Strand, was pulled down in Edward the Sixth's time to make room for building Somerset House. *Thavies Inn*, we have seen, was a residence for students in the reign of Edward III.: it was granted in fee to the benchers of Lincoln's Inn, in the reign of Edward VI. *Furnival's Inn*, which once belonged to the Lords Furnival, was an Inn of Chancery in the 9th of Henry IV. The students held it under a lease in the time of Edward VI.: the inheritance was in the then Lord Shrewsbury, who sold it to the Society of Lincoln's Inn, under whom the Society of Furnival's Inn were afterwards tenants. *Staple Inn* was an Inn of Chancery in the time of Henry V.: the inheritance of it was granted in the 20th of Henry VIII. to the Society of Gray's Inn. *Barnard's Inn* was a law society in the time of Henry VI. The tenth was, perhaps, *George's Inn* before mentioned.<sup>1</sup>

It appears, from a manuscript of the reign of Henry VIII. relating to the government and discipline of the Middle Temple, that the members of that Society were

divided into two companies, called Clerks commons and Masters commons. The first consisted of young men during their two first years' standing, or thereabouts, till they were called up to the Masters commons. The Masters commons was divided into three companies, that is, no utter barristers, utter barristers, and benchers. The first of these were such as from their standing, or neglect of study, were not called upon by the elders and benchers to dispute and argue some point of law before the benchers; these disputes were called mootings. Utter barristers were such as were of five or six years' standing, and were called upon to argue at the mootings; so that making an utter barrister was conferring a sort of degree for the party's progress in learning. Benchers were such utter barristers as had been in the house fourteen or fifteen years; they were chosen by the elders of the house to read, expound, and declare some statute openly to all the Society. During the time of his reading, this person was called a reader, and afterwards a bencher.

“There were, as they expressed it, two grand times of their learning; these were called grand vacations. One began the first Monday in Lent; the other the first Monday after Lammas; each continued three weeks and three days. It was at these seasons that the readings were; in the former by the benchers themselves; in the latter by the readers. The young members of two years were required to be present at these readings, under pain of forfeiting twenty shillings for every default. The grand vacations were employed in other exercises for the advancement of knowledge; an utter barrister

was to oppose some point alledged by the person reading. The younger members were called upon to argue some point in presence of three benchers ; they were followed by the utter barristers ; and lastly, the benchers were to decide. This was all carried on in Law French. Such was the form of mooting. Exercises of this kind were performed not only in the grand vacations, but in term.—After the term and grand vacations, such young men as were no utter barristers, were to argue some point in Law French before the utter barristers, who were to decide in English: these were called mean vacation moots, or chapel moots. Further, every day in the year but festivals, the students of each mess, being three, used to argue among themselves after dinner and supper.

“The Middle Temple used to provide two readers, being utter barristers, for the two Inns of Chancery, Strand Inn and New Inn. These read to the students there in term and grand vacations: the students there mooted as in the Temple, and each reader used to bring two with him from the Temple, to argue and moot. It seems, also, that each of the four Inns of Court sent two persons to every Inn of Chancery to argue, and after such debate the reader used to give his opinion.

“Such was the education in ancient time in the Inns of Court and Chancery. But this was all voluntary, none being compelled to learn. The young students of the Middle Temple had their studies and places of learning so unfortunately situated, that they were very much annoyed by the walking and communication of those that were no learners. In the term time they were disturbed by clients, and clients’ servants resorting to attornies and practisers, “so that they might as well be in the open streets as in their studies.” The same writer

complains, that they had no place to walk in, and talk, and confer their learning, but “in the *Church*; which place, all the term time, had in it no more quietness than the *Pervyse* of Pawle’s,\* by the reason of the confluence and concourse of such as were students of the Law.” Owing to this Society having no revenue for the support and encouragement of students, it is observed by a late writer, that “many a good wit was compelled to forsake study, before he had acquired a perfect knowledge in the law, and to fall to practising, and thus *become a typler in the law*.—It is almost needless to remark, that these modes of tuition have become obsolete.

“In the 32nd of Henry VIII., an order was made in the Inner Temple, that the gentlemen of that company should reform themselves in their cut or disguised apparel, and not wear *long beards*; and that the treasurer of that court should confer with the other treasurers of court for an uniform reformation, and to know the Justices’ opinion therein. In Lincoln’s Inn, by an order made in the 23rd of Henry VIII., none were to wear cut or panted hosen or breeches, or panted doublet, on pain of expulsion; and all persons were to be put out of commons during the time they wore *beards*.—The first Serjeants at Law that received the honour of Knighthood, were knighted in the 23th of Henry VIII.

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\* The custom of Serjeants choosing their *pillar* at St. Paul’s, and taking down their client’s case on their knee, has been noticed at the commencement of this article. That custom, together with the mention of the *pervyse* of Pawle’s, in this place, appears to elucidate a passage in Chaucer’s “*Canterbury Tales*,” in the character of a Serjeant at Law:

“A Serjeant of the law both ware and wise,  
That often had yben at the *Perwyse*.”

“ In the 3rd and 4th of Philip and Mary, an order was made in the Society of the Inner Temple, that thenceforth no attorney, or common solicitor, should be admitted into that house without the assent and agreement of their parliament.

“ The grievance of *long beards* was not yet removed. An order was made in the Inner Temple, that no fellow of that House should wear his beard above *three* weeks’ growth, upon pain of forfeiting 20s.

“ In the Middle Temple, an order was made in the 4th and 5th of Philip and Mary, that none of that Society should wear great breeches in their hose, after the Dutch, Spanish, or Almain (German) fashion, or lawn upon their caps, or cut doublets, on pain of forfeiting 3s. 4d. ; and for the second offence the offender to be expelled. In the 1st and 2d of Philip and Mary, a gentleman of Lincoln’s Inn was fined five groats for going in his study gown into Cheapside on a Sunday, about ten o’clock in the forenoon, and into Westminster Hall, in term time, in the forenoon.

“ In the 3d and 4th of the same reign, the following orders were agreed upon to be observed in all the four Inns of Court ; viz. that none of the companions, except Knights or Benchers, should wear in their doublets, or hose, any light colours, except scarlet and crimson, nor wear any upper velvet cap, or any scarf, or wings in their gowns, white jerkins, buskins, or velvet shoes, double cuffs on their shirts, feathers, or ribbons on their caps, on pain of forfeiting 3s. 4d., and for the second offence, of expulsion ; nor should wear their study gowns in the City, any farther than Fleet-bridge or Holborn-bridge, nor might they wear them as far as the Savoy, upon like pains as those aforementioned.”

## BERKELEY STREET, CLERKENWELL.

BERKELEY STREET, leading from Red Lion Street to St. John's Lane, and also a Court within the same, were so called from a mansion of the Lords Berkeley, which stood here in Charles the First's time, and probably much earlier. The body of *Lady Elizabeth Berkeley*, who died in 1585, and was buried in the old Church of St. James, Clerkenwell, was partially uncovered when the new Church was begun, in 1788. It appeared in a perfect state, dressed in the fashion of the times, with brown gloves on the hands, but was immediately closed up without further examination.\* She was second wife to Sir Maurice Berkeley, knt. who was Standard Bearer to Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Queen Elizabeth.

GREAT FIRE OF LONDON, IN SEPTEMBER, 1666 —  
DIARIES OF EVELYN, PEPYS, AND VINCENT.

ONE of the most important Events that ever happened in this Metropolis, whether it be considered with reference to its immediate effects, or to its remote consequences, was the GREAT FIRE of 1666, which broke out about one o'clock on Sunday morning, September the 2d, and being impelled by strong winds, raged with irresistible fury nearly four days and nights, nor was it entirely mastered till the fifth day after it began.

This destructive Conflagration commenced at the

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\* Malcolm's "Londinium Redivivum," vol. iii. p. 209.



house of one Farryner, the "King's Baker,"\* in Pudding Lane, near New Fish Street Hill, and within ten houses of Lower Thames Street, into which it spread within a short time; nearly all the contiguous buildings being of timber, lath and plaster, and the whole neighbourhood consisting of little else than close passages, and narrow lanes and alleys.

"It began," says a contemporary writer,† "in a heap

\* Vide Pepys's "Diary," vol. iii.

† Vide Malcolm's "Lond. Red." vol. iv. p. 74; from Manuscript Letters written by a Resident in the Middle Temple.—Lord Clarendon says, "The Lord Mayor, though a very honest man, was much blamed for want of sagacity in the first night of the Fire, before the wind gave it much advancement: for though he came with great diligence as soon as he had notice of it, and was present with the first, yet having never been used to such spectacles, his consternation was equal to that of other men, nor did he know how to apply his authority to the remedying the present distress; and when men who were less terrified with the object, pressed him very earnestly, 'that he would give order for the present pulling down those houses which were nearest, and by which the Fire climbed to go farther,' (the doing whereof at that time might probably have prevented much of the mischief that succeeded,) he thought it not safe counsel, and made no other answer than, 'that he durst not do it without the consent of the owners.' His want of skill was the less wondered at, when it was known afterwards, that some gentlemen of the Inner Temple, would not endeavour to preserve the goods which were in the lodgings of absent persons, nor suffer others to do it, 'because,' they said, 'it was against the law to break up any man's chamber!'"—See Lord Clarendon's "History of his own Life," p. 355.

of bavins, and had gotten some strength ere discovered, yet [that discovery was made] seasonably enough to allow a merchant, who dwelt next door, to remove all his goods ; but as soon as it felt the violent impressions of a strong east-north-east wind, leaving a small force to finish the conquest of the house where it received its birth, it immediately directed its greatest strength against the adjacent ones. It quickly grew powerful enough to despise the use of buckets, and was too advantageously seated among narrow streets to be assaulted by engines : it was therefore proposed to the Lord Mayor [Sir Thomas Bludworth,] who came before three o'clock, to pull down some houses to prevent its spreading ; but he, with a pish, answering, that ' a woman might piss it out,' neglected that prudent advice, and was not long undeceived of his foolish confidence ; for, before eight o'clock, it had gotten to the Bridge, and there dividing, left enough to burn down all that had been erected on it since the last great fire in 1633, and, with the main body, pressed forward into 'Thames Street.'

There are several accounts extant, by eye-witnesses, of this wide-spreading conflagration, but those which are the most circumstantial and interesting, are given in the respective Diaries of Evelyn and Pepys :—that of Evelyn is as follows.

“ Sept. 2.—This fatal night, about ten,\* began that deplorable fire neere Fish Streete in London.

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\* This is a mistake, as will be seen by the following passage from the evidence of Farryner, the Baker, when examined before a Committee of the House of Commons, in respect to the cause of the Fire. He stated that “it was impossible that it should happen in his house by accident ;

“ 3.—I had public prayers at home. The fire continuing, after dinner I took coach with my wife and sonn, and went to the Bank side in Southwark, where we beheld that dismal spectacle, the whole Citty in dreadfull flames neare the water side ; all the houses from the Bridge, all Thames Street, and upwards towards Cheape-side, downe to the Three Cranes, were now consum'd ; and so returned exceedinge astonished what would become of the rest. The fire having continu'd all the night (if I may call that night which was as light as day for 10 miles round about, after a dreadfull manner) when conspiring with a fierce eastern wind in a very drie season ; I went on foot to the same place, and saw y<sup>e</sup> whole South part of y<sup>e</sup> Citty burning from Cheapeside to y<sup>e</sup> Thames, and all along Cornehill (for it likewise kind'd back against y<sup>e</sup> wind as well as forward), Tower Streete, Fen-church Streete, Gracious Streete, and so along to Bainard's Castle, and was now taking hold of St. Paule's Church, to which the scaffolds contributed exceedingly. The conflagration was so universal, and the people so astonish'd, that from the beginning, I know not by what despondency or fate, they hardly stirr'd to quench it, so that there was nothing heard or seene but crying out and lamentation, running about like distracted creatures, without at all attempting to save even their goods ; such a strange consternation there was upon them, so as it

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for he had, after twelve of the clock that night, gone through every room thereof, and found no fire but in one chimney, where the room was paved with bricks, which fire he diligently raked up in embers. He was then asked, whether ‘ no window or door might let wind in to disturb those coals ! ’ He affirmed there was no possibility for any wind to disturb them ; and that it was absolutely *set on fire on purpose.*”

burned both in breadth and length, the Churches, Public Halls, Exchange, Hospitals, Monuments, and ornaments, leaping after a prodigious manner from house to house and streete to streete, at greate distances from one to y<sup>e</sup> other; for y<sup>e</sup> heate, with a long set of faire and warme weather, had even ignited the aire, and prepar'd the materials to conceive the fire, which devour'd, after an incredible manner, houses, furniture, and every thing. Here we saw the Thames cover'd with goods floating, all the barges and boates laden with what some had time and courage to save, as, on y<sup>e</sup> other, y<sup>e</sup> carts, &c. carrying out to the fields, which for many miles were strewed with moveables of all sorts, and tents erecting to shelter both people and what goods they could get away. Oh the miserable and calamitous spectacle! such as happily the world had not scene the like since the foundation of it, nor be outdon till the universal conflagration of it. All the skie was of a fiery aspect like the top of a burning oven, and the light scene above 40 miles round about for many nights. God grant mine eyes may never behold the like, who now saw above 10,000 houses all in one flame; the noise and cracking and thunder of the impetuous flames, y<sup>e</sup> shreiking of women and children, the hurry of people, the fall of Towers, Houses, and Churches, was like an hideous storme, and the aire all about so hot and inflam'd that at last one was not able to approach it, so that they were forc'd to stand still and let y<sup>e</sup> flames burn on, which they did for neere two miles in length and one in bredth. The clouds also of smoke were dismall, and reach'd, upon computation, neer 50 miles in length. Thus I left it this afternoone burning, a resemblance of Sodom, or the last day. It forcibly call'd to my mind that passage—*non enim hic habemus stabilem civitatem*: the ruines

resembling the picture of Troy. London was, but is no more! Thus I returned.

“ 4.—The burning still rages, and it was now gotten as far as the Inner Temple: all Fleet Streete, the Old Bailey, Ludgate Hill, Warwick Lane, Newgate, Paules Chaine, Watling Streete, now flaming, and most of it reduc'd to ashes; the stones of Paules flew like granados, y<sup>e</sup> mealting lead running downe the streetes in a streame, and the very pavements glowing with fiery rednesse, so as no horse nor man was able to tread on them, and the demolition had stopp'd all the passages, so that no help could be applied. The Eastern wind still more impetuously driving the flames forward. Nothing but y<sup>e</sup> Almighty power of God was able to stop them, for vaine was the help of man.

“ 5.—It crossed towards White-hall; but oh, the confusion there was then at that Court! It pleas'd his Ma<sup>ty</sup> [Majesty] to command me among y<sup>e</sup> rest to look after the quenching of Fetter Lane end, to preserve, if possible, that part of Holborn, whilst the rest of y<sup>e</sup> gentlemen tooke their severall posts, some at one part, some at another (for now they began to bestir themselves, and not till now, who hitherto had stood as men intoxicated, with their hands acrossed (and began to consider that nothing was likely to put a stop but the blowing up of so many houses as might make a wider gap than any had yet been made by the ordinary method of pulling them downe with engines; this some stout seamen propos'd early enough to have sav'd neare y<sup>e</sup> whole Citty, but this some tenacious and avaritious men, aldermen, &c. would not permitt, because their houses must have ben of the first. It was therefore now commanded to be practis'd, and my concerne being particularly for the Hospital of St. Bartholomew, neere Smithfield, where I

had many wounded and sick men, made me more diligent to promote it ; nor was my care for the Savoy lesse. It now pleas'd God, by abating the wind, and by the industrie of y<sup>e</sup> people, when almost all was lost, infusing a new spirit into them, that the furie of it began sensibly to abate about noone, so as it came no farther than y<sup>e</sup> Temple westward, nor than y<sup>e</sup> entrance of Smithfield north : but continu'd all this day and night so impetuous toward Cripple-gate and the Tower as made us all despaire ; it also brake out againe in the Temple, but the courage of the multitude persisting, and many houses being blown up, such gaps and desolation were soon made, as with the former three days' consumption, the back fire did not so vehemently urge upon the rest as formerly. There was yet no standing neere the burning and glowing ruines by neere a furlong's space.

“ The coale and wood wharfes, and magazines of oyle, rosin, &c. did infinite mischeife, so as the invective [his “Fumifugium”], which a little before I had dedicated to his Ma<sup>y</sup> and publish'd, giving warning what might probably be the issue of suffering those shops to be in the Citty, was look'd on as a prophecy.

“ The poore inhabitants were dispers'd about St. George's Fields, and Moorfields, as far as Highgate, and severall miles in circle, some under tents, some under miserable hutts, and hovells ; many without a rag or any necessary utensills, bed, or board, who from delicatenesse, riches, and easy accommodations in stately and well-furnish'd houses, were now reduc'd to extreamest misery and poverty.

“ In this calamitous condition I return'd with a sad heart to my house, blessing and adoring the distinguishing mercy of God to me and mine, who, in the midst of all



this ruine was like Lot, in my little Zoar, safe and sound.

“ 6, Thursday.—I represented to his Ma<sup>y</sup> the case of the French prisoners at war in my custodie,\* and besought him that there might be still the same care of watching at all places contiguous to unseised houses. It is not, indeede, imaginable how extraordinary the vigilance and activity of the King and Duke was, even labouring in person, and being present to command, order, reward, or encourage workmen, by which he shewed his affection to his people, and gained theirs. Having then disposed of some under cure at the Savoy, I return'd to White-hall, where I din'd at Mr. Offley's the groome porter, who was my relation.

“ 7.—I went this morning on foote from White-hall as far as London Bridge, thro' the late Fleete Streete, Ludgate Hill, by St. Paules, Cheapside, Exchange, Bishopsgate, Aldersgate, and out to Moorfields, thence thro' Cornehill, &c. with extraordinary difficulty, clambering over heaps of yet smoking rubbish, and frequently mistaking where I was. The ground under my feete so hot, that it even burnt the soles of my shoes. In the mean time his Majesty got to the Tower by water, to demolish the houses about the graff, which being built entirely about it, had they taken fire and attack'd the White Tower, where the magazine of powder lay, would undoubtedly not only have beaten downe and destroy'd all y<sup>e</sup> bridge, but sunke and torne the vessells in y<sup>e</sup> river, and render'd y<sup>e</sup> demolition, beyond all expression, for several miles about the countrey.

“ At my returne I was infinitely concern'd to find that

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\* Evelyn had about 600 French and Dutch prisoners under his care, in the Hospitals of St. Bartholomew and the Savoy.

goodly Church St. Paules, now a sad ruine, and that beautifull portico (for structure comparable to any in Europe, as not long before repair'd by the late King) now rent in pieces, flakes of vast stone split asunder, and nothing remaining intire but the inscription in the architrave, shewing by whom it was built, which had not one letter of it defac'd. It was astonishing to see what immense stones the heat had in a manner calcin'd, so that all y<sup>e</sup> ornaments, columns, freezes, capitals, and projectures of massie Portland stone flew off, even to y<sup>e</sup> very rooffe, where a sheet of lead, covering a great space (no less than 6 akers by measure) was totally mealtd; the ruines of the vaulted rooffe falling broke into St. Faith's, which being filled with the magazines of bookes belonging to y<sup>e</sup> Stationers, and carried thither for safety, they were all consum'd, burning for a weeke following. It is also observable, that y<sup>e</sup> lead over the altar at y<sup>e</sup> East end was untouch'd and, among the divers monuments, the body of one Bishop remain'd intire. Thus lay in ashes that most venerable Church, one of the most ancient pieces of early piety in y<sup>e</sup> Christian world, besides neere 100 more. The lead, yron worke, bells, plate, &c. mealtd; the exquisitely wrought Mercers' Chapell, the sumptuous Exchange, y<sup>e</sup> august fabriq of Christ Church, all y<sup>e</sup> reste of the Companies' Halls, splendid buildings, arches, enteries, all in dust; the fountaines dried up and ruin'd, whilst the very water remained boiling; the voragos of subterranean cellars, wells, and dungeons, formerly warehouses, still burning in stench and dark clouds of smoke, so that in five or six miles traversing about, I did not see one loade of timber unconsum'd, nor many stones but what were calcin'd white as snow. The people who now walk'd about y<sup>e</sup> ruines appear'd like men in some dismal desert, or rather in some great Citty laid

waste by a cruel enemy ; to which was added the stench that came from some poore creatures' bodies, beds, and other combustible goods. Sir Thos. Gresham's statue, tho' fallen from its niche in the Royal Exchange, remain'd intire, when all those of y<sup>e</sup> Kings since y<sup>e</sup> Conquest were broken to pieces ; also the standard in Cornhill, and Q. Elizabeth's effigies, with some armes on Ludgate, continued with but little detriment, whilst the vast yron chaines of the Citty streetes, hinges, barrs and gates of prisons were many of them mealted and reduced to cinders by y<sup>e</sup> vehement heate. Nor was I yet able to passe through any of the narrower streetes, but kept the widest, the ground and air, smoake and fiery vapour, continu'd so intense that my haire was almost sing'd, and my feete unsufferably surbated. The bie lanes and narrower streetes were quite fill'd up with rubbish, nor could one have possibly knowne where he was, but by y<sup>e</sup> ruines of some Church or Hall, that had some remarkable tower or pinnacle remaining. I then went towards Islington and Highgate, where one might have seene 200,000 people, of all ranks and degrees, dispers'd and lying along by their heapes of what they could save from the fire, deploring their losse, and tho' ready to perish for hunger and destitution, yet not asking one penny for reliefe, which to me appear'd a stranger sight than any I had yet beheld. His Majesty and Council, indeede, tooke all imaginable care for their reliefe, by proclamation for the country to come in and refresh them with provisions. In the midst of all this calamity and confusion, there was, I know not how, an alarme begun that the French and Dutch, with whom we were now in hostility, were not onely landed, but even entering the Citty. There was, in truth, some days before, greate suspicion of those two nations joyning ; and now, that they had

ben the occasion of firing the towne. This reporte did so terrifie, that on a suddaine there was such an uproare and tumult that they ran from their goods, and taking what weapons they [the people] could come at, they could not be stopped from falling on some of those nations whom they casuall met, without sense or reason. The clamor and peril grew so excessive that it made the whole Court amaz'd, and they did, with infinite paines and greater difficulty, reduce and appease the people, sending troops of soldiers and guards to cause them to retire into y<sup>e</sup> fields againe, where they were watch'd all this night. I left them pretty quiet, and came home sufficiently weary and broken. Their spirits, thus a little calmed, and the affright abated, they now began to repaire into y<sup>e</sup> suburbs about the Citty, where such as had friends or opportunity got shelter for the present, to which his Ma<sup>y</sup>'s Proclamation also invited them.—Still y<sup>e</sup> Plague continuing in our parish, I could not without danger adventure to our church.

“ 10.—I went againe to the ruines, for it was now no longer a Citty.

“ 13.—I presented his Ma<sup>y</sup> with a survey of the ruines, and a plot for a new Citty, with a discourse on it; whereupon, after dinner, his Ma<sup>y</sup> sent for me into the Queene's bed-chamber, her Ma<sup>y</sup> and y<sup>e</sup> Duke onely being present; they examin'd each particular, and discours'd on them for neere an houre, seeming to be extremely pleas'd with what I had so early thought on.

“ Oct. 21.—This season, after so long and extraordinary a drowth in August and September, as if preparatory for the dreadful fire, was so very wett and rainy as many feared an ensuing famine.”\*

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\* Evelyn's "Diary," vol. i. pp. 391—399: 4to. edit.

Pepys's account is full as minute as that of Evelyn, but as it is mingled with various personal and official circumstances, it is here given in a more condensed form than in the Diary itself, a few verbal alterations having been made to connect the passages. The scene of dismay and confusion which it exhibits is almost beyond parallel. Pepys was Clerk of the Acts of the Navy: his house and office were in Seething Lane, Crutched Friars.

“Sept. 2nd.—Lord's Day. Some of our Maids sitting up late last night, to get ready for our feast to-day, Jane called us up at three in the morning, to tell us of a great fire they saw in the City. So I rose and slipped on my night-gown, and went to her window, and thought it to be on the back side of Mark-lane, but being unused to such fires as followed, I thought it far enough off, and so went to bed again and to sleep. About seven rose again to dress myself, and there looked out at the window, and saw the fire, not so much as it was, and further off. By and by, Jane comes and tells me that she hears that above 300 houses have been burnt down to-night, by the fire we saw, and that it was now burning down all Fish-street, by London Bridge. So I *made myself ready*\* presently, and walked to the Tower, and there got up upon one of the high places, and saw the houses at that end of the bridge all on fire, and an infinite great fire on this and the other side of the end of the bridge, which, among other people, did trouble me for poor little Michell and our Sarah on the bridge. So down, with my heart full of trouble, to the Lieutenant of the

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\* This, probably, is one of the last instances of the use of a phrase so frequently met with in the works of our old Dramatists.

Tower, who tells me that it begun this morning in the King's baker's house in *Pudding-lane*,\* and that it has burned down St. Magnus Church, and most part of Fish-street, already. So I down to the water side, and there got a boat, and through bridge, and there saw a lamentable fire. Poor Michell's house as far as the Old Swan already burned that way, and the fire running further, that in a very little time, it got as far as the Steele-yard, while I was there. Every body endeavouring to remove their goods, and flinging into the river, or bringing them into lighters that lay off; poor people staying in their houses as long as till the very fire touched them, and then running into boats, or clambering from one pair of stairs by the water-side to another. And among other things, the poor pigeons, I perceived, were loth to leave their houses, but hovered about the windows and balconys, till they burned their wings and fell down. Having staid, and, in an hour's time, seen the fire rage every way, and nobody in my sight endeavouring to quench it, but to remove their goods, and having seen it get as far as the Steele-yard, and the wind mighty high, and driving it into the City, and every thing, after so long a drought, proving combustible, even the very stones of Churches, and among other

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\* Pudding Lane is the next avenue, eastward, to new Fish Street Hill, and leads from little Eastcheap into Lower Thames Street. Stow speaks of it thus: "Then have ye one other Lane, called *Rother-lane*, or Red Rose-lane, of such a sign there, now commonly called *Pudding Lane*, because the Butchers of East-Cheape have their Scalding-house for Hogges there, and their puddings, with other filth of beasts, are voided down that way to their Dung-boats, on the Thames."—"Sur. of Lond." p. 397: edit. 1618.



things the poor steeple [St. Laurence Poultney], by which pretty Mrs. ——— lives, and whereof my school-fellow, Elborough, is parson, taking fire in the very top, and there burned till it fell down; I went in my boat to White-Hall and there up to the King's closet in the Chapel, where people come about me, and I did give them an account dismayed them all, and word was carried in to the King and Duke of York, of what I saw, and that unless his Majesty did command houses to be pulled down, nothing could stop the fire. They seemed much troubled, and the King commanded me to go to my Lord Mayor from him, and commanded him to spare no houses, but to pull down before the fire every way. The Duke of York bid me tell him, that if he would have any more soldiers he shall, and so did my Lord Arlington afterwards, as a great secret. Here meeting with Captain Cooke, I in his coach, which he lent me, and Creed with me to Paules, and there walkd along Watling Street as well as I could, every creature coming away loaden with goods to save, and here and there sick people carried away in beds. At last, met my Lord Mayor in Canning-street [Cannon Street], like a man spent, with a handkercher about his neck. To the King's message he cried, like a fainting woman, 'Lord! what can I do? I am spent, the people will not obey me. I have been pulling down houses; but the fire overtakes us faster than we can do it:' that he 'needed no more soldiers,' and that 'he must go and refresh himself, having been up all night.' So he left me, and I him, and walked home; seeing people almost distracted, and no manner of means used to quench the fire. The houses, too, so very thick thereabouts, and full of matter for burning, as pitch and tar, in Thames-street, and warehouses of oyle, and wines, and brandy, and other things: and to

see the Churches all filling with goods by people, who themselves should have been quietly there at this time ! By this time it was about twelve o'clock ; and so home, and there find my guests, who were Mr. Wood, and his wife, Barbary Sheldon, and also Mr. Moore. But Mr. Moore's design and mine, which was to look over my closet, and please him with the sight thereof, which he hath long desired, was wholly disappointed ; for we were in great trouble and disturbance at this fire, not knowing what to think of it. However, we had an extraordinary good dinner, and as merry as at this time we could be. Soon as dined, I and Moore away, and walked through the City, the streets full of nothing but people, and horses, and carts loaden with goods, ready to run over one another, and removing goods from one burned house to another. They now removing out of Canning-street (which received goods in the morning) into Lombard-street, and further ; and among others, I now saw my little goldsmith, Stokes, receiving some friends' goods, whose house itself was burned the day after. We parted at Pauls ; he home, and I to Paul's Wharfe, where I had appointed a boat to attend me, and took in Mr. Carcasse, and his brother, whom I met in the street, and carried them below and above bridge too. And again to see the fire, which was now got further, both below and above, and no likelihood of stopping it. Met with the King and Duke of York in their barge, and with them to Queenhithe, and there called Sir Richard Browne to them. Their order was only to 'pull down houses apace,' and so below bridge at the water-side ; but little was, or could be done, the fire coming upon them so fast. Good hopes there was of stopping it at the Three Cranes above, and at Buttolph's below bridge, if care be used ; but the wind carries it in

to the City, so as we know not by the water-side what it do there. River full of lighters and boats taking in goods, and good goods swimming in the water ; and I observed that hardly one lighter or boat in three that had the goods of a house in, but there was a pair of Virginalls [a kind of Espinette, or Spinett] in it. Having seen as much as I could now, I to White Hall by appointment ; and there walked to St. James's Park, and there met my wife and Creed, and Wood and his wife, and walked to my boat ; and there upon the water again, and to the fire up and down, it still increasing, and the wind great. So near the fire as we could for smoke, and all over the Thames, with one's faces in the wind, you were almost burned with a shower of fire drops. This is very true ; so as houses were burned by these drops and flakes of fire, three or four, nay, five or six, one from another. When we could endure no more upon the water, we to a little ale-house on the Bankside, over against the Three Cranes, and there staid till it was almost dark, and saw the fire grow, and as it grew darker, appeared more and more, and in corners, and upon steeples, and between Churches and Houses, as far as we could see up the hill of the City, in a most horrid malicious bloody flame, not like the fine flame of an ordinary fire. We staid till it being darkish we saw the fire as only one entire arch of fire from this to the other side the bridge, and in a bow up the hill, for an arch of above a mile long, it made me weep to see it. The Churches, houses, and all on fire, and flaming at once, and a horrid noise the flames made, and the cracking of houses at their ruine. So home with a sad heart, and there find every body discoursing and lamenting the fire ; and poor Tom Hater come with some few of his goods saved out of his house, which was burned upon Fish-street Hill. I invited him to lie at

my house, and did receive his goods, but was deceived in his lying there, the news coming of the growth of the fire, so as we were forced to begin to pack up our own goods, and prepare for their removal; and did, by moonshine (it being brave dry and moonshine, and warm weather) carry much of my goods into the garden, and Mr. Hater and I did remove my money and iron chests into my cellar, as thinking that the safest place. And got my bags of gold into my office, ready to carry away, and my chief papers of accounts, also there, and my tallies into a box by themselves.

“ 3rd—About four o'clock in the morning, my Lady Batten sent me a cart to carry away all my money, and plate, and best things, to Sir W. Rider's, at Bethnall-green, which I did, riding myself in my night gown in the cart, and, Lord! to see how the streets and the highways are crowded with people running and riding, and getting of carts at any rate to fetch away things. I find Sir W. Rider tired with being up all night, and receiving things from several friends. His house full of goods, and much of Sir W. Batten's and Sir W. Pen's. I am eased at my heart to have my treasure so well secured. Then home, and with much ado to find the way, nor any sleep all this night to me nor my poor wife. But then, all this day she and I, and all my people labouring, to get away the rest of our things, and did get Mr. Tooke to get me a lighter to take them in, and we did get them (myself some) over Tower Hill, which by this time full of people's goods, bringing their goods thither; and down to the lighter, which lay at the next quay above the Tower Dock. And here was my neighbour's wife, Mrs. ———, with her pretty child, and some few of her things, which I did willingly give way to be saved with mine, but there was no passing with any

thing through the postern, the crowd was so great. The Duke of York come this day by the office, and spoke to us, and did ride with his guard up and down the City to keep all quiet, he being now General and having the care of all. At night lay down a little upon a quilt of W. Hewer's in the Office, all my own things being packed up or gone; and after me my poor wife did the like, we having fed upon the remains of yesterday's dinner, having no fire, no dishes, nor any opportunity of dressing any thing.

“4th.—Up by break of day, to get away the remainder of my things, which I did by a lighter at the Iron gate: and my hands so full, that it was afternoon before we could get them all away. Sir W. Pen and I to the Tower-street, and there met the fire burning three or four doors beyond Mr. Howell's, whose goods, poor man, his trays, and dishes, and shovels, &c. were all flung all along Tower-street in the kennels, and people working therewith from one end to the other; the fire coming on in that narrow street, on both sides with infinite fury, Sir W. Batten not knowing how to remove his wine, did dig a pit in the garden, and laid it in there; and I took the opportunity of laying all the papers of my office, that I could not otherwise dispose of. And in the evening Sir W. Pen and I did dig another and put our wine in it, and I my Parmazan cheese, as well as my wine and some other things. The Duke of York was at the office this day at Sir W. Pen's; but I happened not to be within. This afternoon sitting melancholy with Sir W. Pen in the garden, and thinking of the certain burning of this office, without extraordinary means, I did propose, for the sending up of all our Workmen from the Woolwich and Deptford yards (none whereof yet appeared), and to write to Sir W. Coventry to have the

Duke of York's permission, to pull down houses, rather than lose this office, which would much injure the King's business. So Sir W. Pen went down this night, in order to the sending them up to-morrow morning, and I wrote to Sir W. Coventry about the business, but received no answer. This night, Mrs. Turner (who poor woman was removing her goods all this day, good goods, into the garden, and knows not how to dispose of them) and her husband supped with me and my wife at night in the office, upon a shoulder of mutton, from the cooks, without any napkin, or any thing, in a sad manner, but were merry. Only now and then walking into the garden, saw how horribly the sky looks, all on a fire in the night, and was enough to put us out of our wits: and indeed it was extremely dreadful, for it looked just as if it was at us, and the whole heaven on fire. After supper I walked down to Tower-street, and there saw it all on fire; at the Trinity-house on that side, and the Dolphin tavern on this side, which was very near us; and the fire raging with extraordinary vehemence. Now begins the practice of blowing up of houses in Tower-street, those next the Tower; which at first did frighten people more than any thing; but it stopped the fire where it was done, it bringing down the houses to the ground in the same places they stood, and then it was easy to quench what little fire was in it, though it kindled nothing almost. W. Hewer went this day to see how his mother did, and comes home late, telling us how he hath been forced to remove her to Islington, her house in *Pye-corner* being burned, so that the fire is got so far that way, and to the Old Bayly, and was running down to Fleet-street; and Paul's is burned and all Cheapside. I wrote to my Father this night, but the Post-office being burned, the letter could not go.



“ 5th.—I lay down in this office again, upon W. Hewer’s quilt, being mighty weary, and sore in my feet, with going till I was hardly able to stand. About two in the morning, my wife calls me up, and tells me of new cryes of fire, it being come to Barking Church, which is the bottom of our Lane. I up, and finding it so, resolved presently to take her away ; and did, and took my gold, which was about 2350l., W. Hewer, and Jane, down by Proudys’s boat to Woolwich ; but Lord ! what a sad sight it was by moonlight to see it plain at Woolwich, as if you were by it. There, when I come, I find the gates shut, but no guard at all ; which troubled me, because of discourses now began that there is a plot in it, and that the French had done it. I got the gates open, and to Mr. Sheldon’s, where I locked up my gold, and charged my wife and W. Hewer, never to leave the room without one of them in it, night nor day. So back again (by the way seeing my goods well in the lighters at Deptford, and watched well by people) home, and whereas I expected to have seen our house on fire, it being now about seven o’clock, it was not. But to the fire, and there find greater hopes than I expected ; for my confidence of finding our office on fire, was such, that I durst not ask any body how it was with us, till I come and saw it was not burned. But going to the fire, I find by the blowing up of houses, and the great help given by the workmen out of the King’s Yards, sent up by Sir W. Pen, there is a good stop given to it, as well at Marke-lane end, as ours ; it having only burned the dyall of Barking Church, and part of the Porch, and there was quenched. I up to the top of Barking Steeple, and there saw the saddest sight of desolation that I ever saw ; every where great fires, oyle cellars, brimstone and other things burning. I became afraid to stay there long, and therefore down again

as fast as I could, the fire being spread as far as I could see it: and to Sir W. Pen's, and there eat a piece of cold meat. Here I met with Mr. Young, and Whistler, and having removed all my things, and received good hopes that the fire at our end is stopped, they and I walked into the town, and find Fanchurch-street, Gracious-street, and Lombard-street, all in dust. The Exchange a sad sight, nothing standing there, of all the statues or pillars, but Sir Thomas Gresham's picture [statue] in the corner. Into Moorfields (our feet ready to burn, walking through the town among the hot coles), and find that full of people, and poor wretches carrying their goods there, and every body keeping his goods together by themselves (and a great blessing it is to them that it is fair weather for them to keep abroad night and day); drank there, and paid two pence for a plain penny loaf. Thence homeward, having passed through Cheapside, and Newgate-market, all burned; and seen Anthony Joyce's house in fire: and took up (which I keep by me) a piece of glass of Mercers' Chapel, in the street where much more was, so melted and buckled with the heat of the fire, like parchment; I also did see a poor cat taken out of a hole in the chimney, joyning to the wall of the Exchange, with the hair all burned off the body, and yet alive. So home at night, and find there good hopes of saving our office; but great endeavours of watching all night, and having men ready; and so we lodged them in the office, and had drink, and bread and cheese for them. And I lay down, and slept a good night about midnight; though when I rose, I heard there had been a great alarm of French, and Dutch being risen, which proved nothing. But it is a strange thing to see how long this time did look since Sunday, having been always full of variety of actions, and little sleep, that it

looked like a week or more, and I had forgot almost the day of the week.

“ 6th.—Up about five o'clock ; and met Mr. Gauden at the gate of the office (I intending to go out, as I used, every new and then, to-day, to see how the fire is), to call our men to Bishop's-gate, where no fire had been near, and there is now one broke out: which did give great grounds to people, and to me too, to think there was a kind of plot in this (on which many by this time have been taken, and it hath been dangerous for any stranger [that is, foreigner] to walk in the streets), but I went with the men, and we did put it out in a little time, so that that was well again. It was pretty to see how hard the women did work in the cannells [kennels], sweeping of water ; but then they would scold for drink, and be as drunk as devils. I saw good butts of sugar broke open in the street, and people give and take handsfull out and put into beer and drink it. And now all being pretty well, I took boat, and over to Southwarke, and took boat on the other side of the bridge, and so to Westminster, thinking to shift myself, being all in dirt from top to bottom ; but could not then find any place to buy a shirt or a pair of gloves, Westminster Hall being all full of people's goods, and the Exchequer money put into vessels to carry to Nonsuch,\* but to the Swan, and there was trimmed: and then to White-Hall, but saw nobody, and so home. A sad sight to see how the river looks ; no houses nor church near it, to the Temple, where it stopped. At home did go with Sir W. Batten, and our neighbour Knightly (who with one more was the only man of any fashion left in all the neighbourhood

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\* Nonsuch House, near Epsom, where the Exchequer had been formerly kept.

thereabouts, they all removing their goods, and leaving their houses to the mercy of the fire), to Sir R. Ford's, and there dined in an earthen platter—a fried breast of mutton ; a great many of us, but very merry, and indeed as good a meal, though as ugly a one as ever I had in my life. Thence down to Deptford, and there with great satisfaction, landed all my goods at Sir G. Carteret's, safe, and nothing missed, I could see or hear. This being done to my great content, I home to Sir W. Batten's, and there with Sir R. Ford, Mr. Knightly, and one Withers, a professed lying rogue, supped well and mighty merry, and our fears over. From them to the office, and there slept with the office full of labourers, who talked and slept, and walked all night long there. But strange it is to see Clothworkers' Hall on fire, these three days and nights in one body of flame, it being the cellar full of oyle.

“ 7th.—Up by five o'clock ; and, blessed be God ! find all well, and by water to Paul's Wharf. Walked thence, and saw all the town burned, and a miserable sight of Paul's Church, with all the roofs fallen, and the body of the quire fallen into St. Fayth's ; Paul's school also, Ludgate and Fleet-street. My Father's house, and the Church, and a good part of the Temple the like. So to Creed's lodging near the new Exchange, and there find him laid down upon a bed ; the house being all unfurnished, there being fears of the fire coming to them. There borrowed a shirt of him, and washed. To Sir W. Coventry at St. James's, who lay without curtains, having removed all his goods ; as the King at White Hall, and every body had done, and was doing. He hopes we shall have no public distractions upon this fire, which is what every body fears, because of the talk of the French having a hand in it : and it is a proper time

for discontents; but all men's minds are full of care to protect themselves, and save their goods; the militia are in arms every where. Thence to the Swan, and there drank: and so home, and find all well. My Lord Brouncker at Sir W. Batten's, tells us the Generall is sent for up, to come to advise with the King about business at this juncture, and to keep all quiet, which is great honour to him, but I am sure is but a piece of dissimulation. This day our Merchants first met at Gresham College, which by proclamation is to be their Exchange. Strange to hear what is bid for houses all up and down here; a friend of Sir W. Rider's having 150*l.* for what he used to let for 40*l. per ann.* Much dispute where the Custom-house shall be; thereby the growth of the City again to be foreseen. My Lord Treasurer, they say, and others, would have it at the other end of the town. People do all the world over cry out of the simplicity of my Lord Mayor in generall; and more particularly in this business of the fire, laying it all upon him. A proclamation is come out for markets to be kept at Leadenhall, and Mile-end Greene, and several other places about the town; and Tower-hill, and all Churches to be set open to receive poor people."\*

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\* Pepys's "Memoirs," vol. iii. pp. 16—37. An extremely impressive narrative of the progress of this Conflagration, and of the distress and confusion it occasioned, has been given by the Rev. T. Vincent, a non-conformist divine, in his tract, intituled, "*God's Terrible Advice to the City by Plague and Fire,*" of which thirteen editions were published within five years. The following are extracts:

"It was the 2d of September, 1666, that the anger of the Lord was kindled against London, and the fire began: It began in a Baker's house in Pudding Lane, by Fish-Street

The destructive fury of this Conflagration was never, perhaps, exceeded in any part of the world, by any Fire originating in accident. Within the walls, it consumed almost five-sixths of the whole

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Hill; and now the Lord is making London 'like a fiery oven in the time of his anger,' Psalm xxi. 9, and in his wrath doth devour and swallow up our habitations. It was in the depth and dead of the night, when most doors and senses were lockt up in the City, that the fire doth break forth and appear abroad; and like a mighty gyant refresht with wine, doth awake and arm itself; quickly gathers strength, when it had made havock of some houses, rushed down the hill towards the Bridge, crosseth Thames-street, invadeth Magnus Church at the Bridge-foot, and though that Church was so great, yet it was not a sufficient barricado against this conqueror; but having scaled and taken this fort, it shooteth flames with so much the greater advantage into all places round about, and a great building of houses upon the Bridge is quickly thrown to the ground: then the conqueror being stayed in its course at the Bridge, marcheth back towards the City again, and runs along with great noise and violence through Thames-street westward, where, having such combustible matter in its teeth, and such a fierce wind upon its back, it prevails with little resistance, unto the astonishment of the beholders:

"The Lord Mayor of the City comes with his officers, a confusion there is, councel is taken away; and London, so famous for wisdom and dexterity, can now find neither brains nor hands to prevent its ruine.

"That which made the ruine the more dismal was, that it was begun on the Lord's-day morning: never was there the like Sabbath in London; some Churches were in flames that day, and God seems to come down, and to preach himself in them, as he did in Mount Sinai, when the Mount burned



City ; and without the walls, it cleared a space nearly as extensive as the one-sixth part left unburnt within. Scarcely a single building that came within the range of the flames was left standing.

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with fire ; such warm preaching those churches never had, such lightning dreadful sermons never were before delivered in London.

“ Now the Train-bands are up in arms, watching at every quarter for outlandish men, because of the general fears and jealousies, and rumours that fire-balls were thrown into houses by several of them, to help on and provoke the too-furious flames. Yet some hopes were entertained on the Lord’s-day, that the fire would be extinguished, especially by them who live in the remote parts ; they could scarcely imagine that the fire a mile off should be able to reach their houses.

“ But the evening draws on, and now the Fire is more visible and dreadful : instead of the black curtains of the night which used to be spread over the City, now the curtains are yellow ; the smoak that rose from the burning parts seemed like so much flame in the night, which being blown upon the other parts by the wind, the whole City at some distance seemed to be on fire. Now hopes begin to sink, and a general consternation seizeth upon the spirits of people : little sleep is taken in London this night ; the amazement which the eye and ear doth affect upon the spirit, doth either dry up or drive away the vapour which used to bind up the senses. Some are at work to quench the Fire with water ; others endeavour to stop its course by pulling down of houses : but all to no purpose ; if it be a little allayed or beaten down, or put to a stand in some places, it is but a very little while : it quickly recruits, and recovers its force ; it leaps and mounts, and makes more furious onsets, drives back its opposers, snatcheth their

Public edifices, churches, and dwelling-houses were alike involved in one common fate; and making a due allowance for irregularities, it may be stated that the fire extended its ravages over a space of

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weapons out of their hands, seizeth upon the water, houses, and engines, burns them, spoils them, and makes them unfit for service. On the Lord's-day night the Fire had run as far as Garlic hythe in Thames-street, and had crept up into Cannon-street, and levelled it with the ground, and still is making forward by the water-side, and upward to the brow of the hill on which the City was built.

“ On Monday, Gracechurch-street is all in flames, with Lombard-street on the left-hand, and part of Fenchurch-street on the right, the Fire working, though not so fast, against the wind that way: before it were pleasant and stately houses, behind it ruinous and desolate heaps. The burning then was in fashion of a Bow; a dreadful Bow it was, such as mine eyes never before had seen, a Bow which had God's arrow in it with a flaming point: it was a shining Bow, not like that in the cloud, which brings water with it, and withal signifies God's covenant not to destroy the world any more with water; but it was a Bow which had fire in it, which signified God's anger, and his intention to destroy London with Fire.

“ Now the flames break in upon Cornhill, that large and spacious street, and quickly cross the way by the train of wood that lay in the streets untaken away, which had been pulled down from the houses to prevent its spreading, and so they lick the whole street as they go; they mount up to the top of the highest houses; they descend down to the bottom of the lowest vaults and cellars; and march along on both sides of the way, with such a roaring noise as never was heard in the City of London. No stately building so great as to resist their fury: the Royal Exchange itself, the glory

ground equal to an oblong square of a mile and a half in length and half a mile in breadth.

In the summary account of this tremendous devastation, given in one of the inscriptions on the Monu-

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of the merchants, is now invaded with much violence. When the Fire was entered, how quickly did it run round the galleries, filling them with flames: then descending the stairs, compasseth the walks, giving forth flaming vollies, and filling the court with sheets of fire; by and by the Kings fell all down upon their faces, and the greatest part of the stone building after them (the founder's statue only remaining), with such a noise as was astonishing.

“ Then, then the City did shake indeed; and the inhabitants did tremble, and flew away in great amazement from their houses, lest the flames should devour them. Rattle, rattle, rattle, was the noise which the Fire struck upon the ear round about, as if there had been a thousand iron chariots beating upon the stones; and if you opened your eye to the opening of the streets where the Fire was come, you might see, in some places, whole streets at once in flames, that issued forth, as if they had been so many great forges, from the opposite windows, which folding together, united into one great flame throughout the whole street; and then you might see the houses tumble, tumble, tumble, from one end of the street to the other, with a great crash, leaving the foundations open to the view of the Heavens.

“ Now fearfulness and terror doth surprize the Citizens of London; confusion and astonishment doth fall upon them at this unheard-of, unthought-of judgment. It would have grieved the heart of an unconcerned person, to see the rueful looks, the pale cheeks; the tears trickling down from the eyes, (where the greatness of sorrow and amazement could give leave for such a vent,) the smiting of the breast, the wringing of the hands; to hear the sighs and groans, the

ment, and which was drawn up from the reports of the Surveyors appointed after the Fire, it is stated that, "The ruins of the City were 436 acres [viz. 373 acres within the walls, and 63 acres without them,

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doleful weeping speeches of the distressed Citizens, when they were bringing forth their wives (some from their child-bed), and their little ones (some from their sick-bed), out of their houses, and sending them into the country, or somewhere into the fields, with their goods. Now the hopes of London are gone, their hearts are sunk. Now there is a general remove in the City, and that in a greater hurry than before the Plague; their goods being in greater danger by the Fire, than their persons were by the sickness. Scarcely are some returned but they must remove again, and not as before; now, without any more hopes of ever returning and living in those houses any more.

"Monday night was a dreadful night;—for the Fire now shines round about with a fearful blaze, which yielded such light in the streets, as it had been the sun at noon-day. Now the Fire having wrought backward strangely against the wind to Billingsgate, &c. along Thames-street eastward, runs up the hill to Tower-street, and having marched on from Gracechurch-street, making further progress in Fenchurch-street, and having spread its wing beyond Queenhithe, in Thames-street westward, mounts up from the water-side through Dowgate and Old Fish-street into Watling-street. But the great fury of the Fire was in the broader streets, in the midst of the night it was come down Cornhill, and laid it in the dust, and runs along by the Stocks, and there meets with another Fire, which came down Threadneedle-street; a little further with another, which came up from Walbrook; a little further with another, which comes up from Bucklersbury; and all these four joining together, break into one great flame at the corner of Cheapside, with such a dazzling

but within the liberties] ; that, of the six-and-twenty Wards, it utterly destroyed fifteen, and left eight others shattered and half burnt ; and that it consumed eighty-nine Churches [four of] the City Gates,

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light and burning heat, and roaring noise by the fall of so many houses together, that was very amazing : and though it was something stopped in its swift course at Mercer's Chapel, yet with great force, in a while it conquers the place and burns through it, and then with great rage proceedeth forward in Cheapside.

“ On Tuesday was the Fire burning up the very bowels of London : Cheapside is all in a light fire in a few hours' time, many fires meeting there as in the centre. From Soper-lane, Bow-lane, Bread-street, Friday-street, and Old Change, the Fire comes up almost together, and breaks furiously into the broad street ; and most of that side of the way was together in flames, a dreadful spectacle ! And then, partly by the Fire which came down by Mercer's Chapel, partly by the fall of the houses cross the way, the other side is quickly kindled, and doth not long stand after it. Now the Fire gets into Blackfryers, and so continues its course by the water, and makes up towards Paul's Church on that side, and Cheapside fire besets the great building on this side ; and the Church, though all of stone outward, though naked of houses about it, and though so high above all buildings in the City, yet within a while doth yield to the violent assaults of the conquering flames, and strangely takes fire at the top : now the lead melts and runs down, as if it had been snow before the sun ; and the great beams and massy stones, with a great noise, fall on the pavement, and break through into Faith Church underneath, and great flakes of stone scale and peel off strangely from the side of the walls. The conqueror having got this high fort, darts its flames round about ; now Pater-noster Row, Newgate Market, the Old Bailey, and

Guildhall, many public Structures, Hospitals, Schools, Libraries, a great number of stately Edifices, 13,200 Dwelling-houses, and 400 Streets.

Lord Clarendon says, that “ the value or estimate

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Ludgate Hill, have submitted themselves to the devouring Fire, which, with wonderful speed, rusheth down the hill into Fleet-street. Now Cheapside Fire marcheth along Ironmonger-lane, Old Jewry, Lawrence-lane, Milk-street, Wood-street, Gutter lane, Foster lane ; and now it runs along Lothbury, Cateaton-street, &c. From Newgate Market, it assaults Christ Church, and conquers that great building, and burns through Martin’s-lane towards Aldersgate, and all about, so furiously as if it would not leave a house standing upon the ground.

“ Now horrible flakes of fire mount up to the sky, and the yellow smoke of London ascendeth up towards Heaven, like the smoke of a great furnace, a smoke so great, as darkened the Sun at noon-day : if at any time the Sun peeped forth, it looked red like blood. The cloud of smoke was so great, that travellers did ride at noon-day some miles together in the shadow thereof, though there were no other cloud beside to be seen in the sky.

“ And if Monday night was dreadful, Tuesday night was more dreadful, when far the greatest part of the City was consumed : many thousands who, on Saturday, had houses convenient in the City, both for themselves, and to entertain others, now have not where to lay their heads, and the fields are the only receptacle which they can find for themselves and their goods : Most of the late inhabitants of London lie all night in the open air, with no other canopy over them but that of the Heavens. The Fire is still making towards them, and threateneth the Suburbs ; it was amazing to see how it had spread itself several miles in compass : and amongst other things that night, the sight of Guildhall was a



of what that devouring Fire consumed, could never be computed in any degree;" and although, in a curious Pamphlet upon the "Burning of London," which was first published in 1667, and re-printed in

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fearful spectacle, which stood the whole body of it together in view, for several hours together, after the Fire had taken it, without flames (I suppose, because the timber was such solid oak), in a bright shining coal, as if it had been a palace of gold, or a great building of burnished brass.

"On Wednesday morning, when people expected that the Suburbs would be burnt as well as the City, and with speed were preparing their flight as fast as they could, with their luggage, into the countries and neighbouring villages; then the Lord hath pity on poor London, and he 'stays his rough wind in the day of the East-wind;' his fury begins to be allayed, he hath a remnant of people in London, and there shall a remnant of houses escape. The wind now is husht, the commission of the Fire is withdrawing, and it burns so gently, everywhere it meets with no opposition, that it was not hard to be quenched, in many places with a few hands: now the Citizens begin to gather a little heart, and encouragement in their endeavours to quench the Fire. A check it had at Leadenhall, by that great building; a stop it had in Bishopsgate-street, Fenchurch-street, Lime-street, Mark-lane, and towards the Tower: one means, under God, was the blowing up of houses with gunpowder. Now it is stayed in Lothbury, Bread-street, Coleman-street; towards the Gates it burnt, but not with any great violence: at the Temple, also, it is stayed, and in Holborn, where it had got no great footing; and when once the Fire was got under it was kept under; and, on Thursday, the flames were extinguished.

"But, on Wednesday night, when the people, late of London, now in the fields, hoped to get a little rest upon the

the "Harleian Miscellany," vol. iii. that attempt was made, and the loss estimated at 7,335,000*l.*, there can hardly be a doubt but that the property destroyed was of much higher value. We should not err, perhaps, when all the circumstances are considered, in fixing it at the then vast sum of ten millions sterling.\*

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ground, where they had spread their beds, a more dreadful fear falls upon them than they had before; through a rumour that the French were coming armed against them to cut their throats, and spoil them of what they had saved out of the Fire. They were now naked and weak, and in ill condition to defend themselves, and the hearts, especially of the females, do quake and tremble, and are ready to die within them; yet many Citizens, having lost their houses, and almost all they had, are fired with rage and fury, and they begin to stir up themselves like lions, or like bears bereaved of their whelps, and now arm, arm, arm, doth resound the fields and Suburbs with a great noise. We may guess at the distress and perplexity of the people this night, which was somewhat alleviated when the falseness of the alarm was perceived."

"Thus fell great London, that ancient City! that populous City! that rich City! that joyous City! One corner indeed is left, but more than as many houses as were within the walls, are turned into ashes."

\* The loss sustained by the Members of the Stationers' Company was computed, by Lord Clarendon, at 200,000*l.*; "and if," he afterwards proceeds, "so vast a damage befel that little Company, in books and paper, and the like, what shall we conceive we lost in cloth (of which the country clothiers lost all that they had brought up to Blackwell Hall, against Michaelmas, which was also burned with that fair structure), in silks of all kinds, in linen, and those richer manufactures. Not to speak of money, plate, and jewels."—

Whether the *Fire of London*, as this tremendous conflagration has been emphatically denominated, were the effect of design, or of accident, is a question that has been productive of much controversy ; and although of late years it has become a colloquial fashion, when speaking of the *Monument*, to quote

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The great loss sustained by the Stationers and Booksellers was attended by some remarkable circumstances. The immediate vicinity of St. Paul's, was then, more particularly than at this time, the chief seat of the trade, and when the Fire was making its approaches, "all those who dwelt near," says Clarendon, "carried their goods, books, paper, and the like, as others of greater trades did their commodities, into the large vaults which were under St. Paul's Church, before the Fire came thither : which vaults, though all the Church above the ground was afterwards burned, with all the houses round about, still stood firm and supported the foundation, and preserved all that was within them ; until the impatience of those who had lost their houses, and whatsoever they had else, in the Fire, made them very desirous to see what they had saved, upon which all their hopes were founded to repair the rest.

"It was the fourth day after the Fire ceased to flame, though it still burned in the ruins, from whence there was still an intolerable heat, when the Booksellers especially, and some other tradesmen, who had deposited all they had preserved in the greatest and most spacious vault, came to behold all their wealth, which to that moment was safe : but the doors were no sooner opened, and the air from without fanned the strong heat within, but first the dryest and most combustible matters broke into a flame, which consumed all, of what kind soever, that till then had been unhurt there. Yet they who had committed their goods to some lesser vaults, at a distance from the

the sarcastic lines of Pope (who, be it remembered, was himself a Catholic),

“Where London’s Column, pointing to the skies,  
Like a tall bully lifts the head and *lies* ;

there are many circumstances upon record which combine to establish a belief that this conflagration had been preconcerted by the Papists.

Lord Clarendon admits that the public impression was “that the Fire was occasioned by conspiracy and combination,” and although he himself maintains the negative, yet his own account furnishes much testimony of an opposite nature. “It could not be conceived,” he says, “how a house that was distant

greater, had better fortune ; and having learned from the second ruin of their friends to have more patience, attended till the rain fell, and extinguished the Fire in all places, and cooled the air : and then they securely opened the doors, and received from thence what they had there.”—*Clarendon’s “Life,”* p. 355.

These circumstances are stated somewhat differently in the “Observations, Historical and Moral, on the Burning of London,” reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany, vol. iii. edit. 1809. The last writer says, “The Booksellers who dwelled for the most part round about the Cathedral, had sheltered their books in a subterraneous Church under it, called St. Faith, which was propt up with so strong an arch and massy pillars, that it seemed impossible the Fire could do any harm to it ; but having crept into it through the windows, it seized on the pews, and did so try and examine the arch and pillars, by sucking the moisture of the mortar that bound the stones together, that it was calcined into sand, so when the top of the Cathedral fell upon it, it beat it flat, and set all things into an irremediable flame.”

a mile from any part of the Fire could suddenly be in a flame, without some particular malice ; and *this case fell out every hour*. When a man at the furthest end of Bread Street had made a shift to get out of his house his best and most portable goods, because the Fire had approached near them, he no sooner had secured them, as he thought, in some friend's house in Holborn, which was believed a safe distance, but he saw that very house, and none else near it, in a sudden flame : nor did there want, in this woeful distemper, the testimony of witnesses who saw this villainy committed, and apprehended men who they were ready to swear threw fire balls into houses, which were presently burning."

He then mentions the confession of one [Robert] Hubert, a young man of five or six-and-twenty years of age, the son of a watch-maker, at Rouen, in Normandy, who, amongst many Frenchmen, had been sent to Newgate.\* This man, when examined before

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\* Burnet says of Hubert, that " he was a French Papist, seized in Essex, as he was getting out of the way in great confusion. He confessed he had begun the Fire, and persisted in his confession to his death ; for he was hanged upon no other evidence but that of his own confession. It is true, he gave so broken an account of the whole matter, that he was thought mad ; yet he was blindfolded, and carried to several places of the City, and then his eyes being opened, he was asked if that was the place : and he being carried to wrong places, after he had looked round about for some time, he said that that was not the place ; but when he was brought to the place where it first broke out, he affirmed

the Chief Justice, Keeling, stated that he had been "suborned at Paris to this action," that there "were three more combined with him to do the same thing," and that "he had set the first house on fire."

"The whole examination was so senseless," proceeds the noble historian, and he said many such unreasonable things, that nobody present credited any thing he said. However they durst not slight the evidence, but put him to a particular, in which he so fully confirmed all that he had said before, that they were all surprised with wonder, and knew not afterwards what to say or think. They asked him, if 'he knew the place where he first put fire; he answered, 'that he knew it very well, and would shew it to any body.' Upon this the Chief Justice, and many Aldermen who sate with him, sent a guard of substantial Citizens with the prisoner, that he might shew them the house; and they first led him to a place at some distance from it, and asked him, 'if that were it,' to which he answered presently, 'no, it was lower, nearer to the Thames.' The house and all which were near it, were so covered and buried in ruins, that the owners themselves, without some infallible mark, could

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that was the true place. And Tillotson told me, that Howell, then the Recorder of London, was with him, and had much discourse with him; and that he concluded it was impossible that it could be a melancholy dream. The horror of the fact, and the terror of death, and perhaps some engagements in confession, might put him in such disorder, that it was not possible to draw a clear account of any thing from him but of what related to himself. Tillotson believed that the City was burnt on design."—Burnet's "History of his own Time," vol. i. pp. 229, 230.



very hardly have said where their own houses had stood: but this man *led them directly to the place*, described *how it stood*, the *shape of the little yard*, the *fashion of the door and windows*, and where he first put the fire; and all this with such exactness, that they who had dwelt long near it could not so perfectly have described all particulars."

Upon this confession, Hubert was tried, condemned, and executed; yet Lord Clarendon strangely remarks, that "neither the *Judges*, nor *any present* at the trial, did believe him *guilty*, but that he was a poor distracted wretch weary of his life, and chose to part with it this way."

In the *Report* of the Committee appointed by the House of Commons to "enquire into the *Firing of the City*," made on the twenty-second of January, 1666-7, many circumstances are stated which strongly support the opinion of the Fire having been caused by incendiaries. Several persons gave evidence of different conversations with Papists, in which the destruction of the City by Fire was pointedly alluded to, at various times *previous* to the conflagration; and others testified that fire-balls, and combustible materials, were found on different Foreigners, who were apprehended, during the raging of the flames, under very suspicious circumstances. One house, near St. Antholin's Church, is expressly stated by three witnesses, to have been set on fire by a person throwing *something into it*; and when "there was no fire near the place."\* In regard to Hubert, the

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\* Vide "A True and Faithful Account of the several Infor-

Report states, that "He confessed there were three-and-twenty complices, whereof Piedlow, a fellow countryman, was chief; that Piedlow (who had brought him to England in a Swedish ship,) carried him into Pudding Lane, where Piedlow did fix two fire-balls to a long pole, and put them into a window, and there he, the said Robert Hubert, did fire one in the same manner [viz. by lighting it with a piece of match], and put it into the same window, and staid till he saw the house in a flame."\*—The Report concludes with the following singular sentence: "I [the Chairman] had order from the Committee to acquaint you, that we traced several persons apprehended upon strong suspicion (during the fire), to the Guards, but could not make further discovery of them."

Notwithstanding this evidence, the general tendency of which was strongly corroborated by other enquiries (but which the Committee was prevented

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mations exhibited to the Honourable Committee appointed by the Parliament to enquire into the late Dreadful Burning of the City of London, &c." p. 9, 1667. The Committee at first, consisted of forty-five persons; twenty-three were afterwards added, "and all the Members that serve for the City." Sir Robert Brook was appointed Chairman.

\* Hubert's confession was, to a certain extent, corroborated by the evidence of Farryner, the Baker, who, as stated in a preceding page, affirmed that "it was impossible it should happen in *his house by accident*," and that "it was absolutely *set on fire on purpose*." Vide "Report of the Committee."

from substantiating by the prorogation of the House on the 8th of February), Lord Clarendon most untruly affirms that “upon the strictest examination that could be made by the King’s command, and then by the diligence of Parliament, that upon the jealousy and rumour made a Committee, who were very diligent and solicitous to make that discovery, there was never any probable evidence (that poor creature’s [Hubert] only excepted,) that there was any other cause of that woeful Fire, than the displeasure of God Almighty.”

Amidst all the confusion and multiplied dangers which arose from the Fire, it does not appear that more than six persons lost their lives ; and of those, two or three met their deaths through being too venturesome in going over the ruins.\*

Whilst the City was re-building, various temporary edifices were raised for the public accommodation ; both with respect to Divine Worship, and to general business.—Gresham College, which had escaped the flames, was converted into an Exchange and Guildhall ; and the Royal Society removed its

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\* One of the sufferers was a watch-maker, living in *Shoe Lane*, behind the Globe Tavern. His name was Paul Lawell, “born in Strasbourg, who being about eighty years of age, and dull of hearing, was also deaf to the good admonitions of his son and friends, and would never desert the house till it fell upon him, and sunk him with the ruins in the cellar ; where, afterwards, his bones, together with his keys, were found.” Vide “Observations,” &c. “*Harleian Miscellany*,” vol. iii. p. 300 ; edit. 1809.

sittings to Arundel House. The affairs of the Custom House were transacted in Mark Lane; the business of the Excise Office was carried on in Southampton Fields, near Bedford House; the General Post-Office was removed to Brydges Street, Covent Garden; the Offices of Doctors' Commons were held at Exeter House, in the Strand; and the King's Wardrobe was consigned from Puddle Wharf to York Buildings. The inhabitants, for a time, were mostly lodged in small huts, built in Finsbury and Moor Fields, in Smithfield, and on all the open spaces in the vicinity of the Metropolis.

Great exertions were made to re-edify the City, and the Parliament, acting on the King's Proclamation, passed an Act for regulating the Buildings and expediting the Work.

“By that Act, it was enacted that there should be four kinds of houses raised, of dimensions corresponding with an annexed table; that all the new buildings should be of stone or brick, with party walls, and erected within three years; that the prices of materials and labour should be regulated by the Justices of the King's Bench, in case of attempted imposition; that all workmen employed should be free of the City for seven years, and provided they wrought in the re-building during that entire period, should afterwards have the freedom for life; that the Corporation have full power to widen streets, passages, &c. and make new ones; that an anniversary Fast should be kept in perpetual memorial of the Conflagration, which should also be commemorated by a Column of brass or stone; that a spacious Wharf, forty feet in breadth, should extend by the river side from the Tower Wharf to the Temple Stairs; and

that, to enable the City to accomplish the work mentioned in the Act, one shilling should be paid on every chaldron of coals brought into the Port of London."

Another Act was passed for erecting a particular *Court of Judicature*, to settle all differences which might arise between Landlords and Tenants in respect to the destroyed premises, and from whatever other cause. This Court was to consist of all "The Justices of the King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, and their successors;"—and before the proceedings were terminated, no fewer than twenty-two Judges had been engaged in them.\*

Among the several Plans that were proposed for improving the Capital, were two which acquired much celebrity; the first was designed by Dr., afterwards Sir Christopher Wren (who was appointed Surveyor-General and Principal Architect for rebuilding the whole City), and the other by Mr., afterwards Sir John Evelyn.† Neither of them,

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\* Such general satisfaction was given to the Citizens by the conduct and legal decisions of these Judges, that their Portraits, in their official habits, at full length, were voted to be taken and placed in Guildhall, in grateful testimony of their services. It was intended, that these should be executed by Sir Peter Lely, but his fastidious pride in refusing to wait on the Judges at their Chambers, counteracted that design, and as Walpole says, "Michael Wright got the business, and received 60*l.* for each piece." They were but indifferently painted, and though still preserved, are now in a very pitiable condition: they were removed from the Great Hall about fifteen years ago.

† Both Plans have been since engraved under the direction of the Society of Antiquaries.

however, could be adopted in practice, though every person was convinced of the advantages that would eventually result ; for the jealousies of the Citizens, lest they should be too far removed from the sites of their old residences, proved to be insuperable, and very few would recede from their claims to particular spots. From that cause the opportunity was lost, of rendering this Metropolis the most magnificent of any in the world. Still, however, much was effected ; avenues were widened, declivities raised, and obstacles removed ; and although all was not done that might have been executed under the influence of other feelings, the entire City (with the exception of the Churches and larger Public Buildings) was re-built within little more than four years, and that in a style of far greater splendour and regularity, and infinitely more commodious and healthful than the ancient Capital ! One of the grand advantages, in the latter respect, that arose from the Fire, was the total cessation of the *Plague* ; which, during the previous century, had scarcely ever been absent from the City, and in the preceding year, 1665, had so dreadfully extended its ravages, that nearly 100,000 persons perished miserably within the Metropolis.

#### THE MONUMENT.

That noble Column, the MONUMENT, as it is emphatically called, stands on the east side of *New Fish Street Hill*, on the site of St. Margaret's Church, which had been destroyed by the Fire. It was



erected by Sir Christopher Wren, between the year 1671 and 1677, under the provisions of an Act of Parliament, in order to commemorate the Conflagration and Re-building of the City. During its progress, the work was impeded at times, for want of stones of sufficient scantling and good quality. The expense was somewhat more than 14,500*l.* which appears to have been defrayed out of the Orphan's Fund. It is a fluted column, of the Doric order, and of Portland stone; of which it contains 28,126 solid feet. Its entire height from the pavement, including the surmounting cippus and flaming urn, is 202 feet, an altitude much greater than that of the pillars of Trajan and Antoninus at Rome, or that of Theodosius at Constantinople; the pedestal is forty feet high, and about twenty-one feet square; the plinth is twenty-seven feet square. Within the shaft (the greatest diameter of which is fifteen feet) is a staircase consisting of 345 steps of black marble, which leads to an open balcony, or gallery, which surmounts the abacus, and from which a fine prospect is obtained over the City and the River Thames: the urn is of gilt bronze. On the west side, or front of the pedestal, is a large but confused allegorical sculpture, by Caius Gabriel Cibber, in alto and bas-relief, commemorative of the destruction and restoration of the City; in which Charles the Second appears, attended by three females, representing Liberty, Genius, and Science; in the back-ground are labourers and implements of building, houses newly raised, &c. and at the feet of the King, is Envy peering from an

arched cell, and endeavouring to renew the mischief, by blowing flames from his unhallowed mouth.

On the north and south sides are appropriate inscriptions, written in Latin by Dr. Thomas Gale, afterwards Dean of York : that on the north recording the desolation of the City,\* and the other its restoration and improvement, and the means employed for those purposes. On the east side is inscribed the years in which it was begun and finished, together with the names of the Lord Mayors who presided during its erection.

Around the base of the pedestal is another inscription, in English, in a continued line, which, after having been wholly erased on the accession of James the Second, was again very deeply chiselled in soon after the Revolution of 1688 : it is as follows :

“ This Pillar was set up in perpetual remembrance of the most dreadful burning of this Protestant City, begun and carried on by the treachery and malice of the Popish Faction, in the beginning of September, in the year of our Lord 1666, in order to the carrying on their horrid plot for extirpating the Protestant Religion and old English Liberty, and introducing Popery and Slavery.”

Sir Christopher Wren is reputed to have designed this column for the purposes of Astronomy, and Mr. Elmes, in his “ *Memoirs of the Life and Works* ” of that great architect, communicates this information.

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\* It states, also, that the height of the Column, viz. 202 feet, was equal to its distance, eastward, from the House where the fire broke out.

“ It was at first used by the Members of the Royal Society for astronomical experiments ; but was abandoned on account of its vibrations being too great for the nicety required in their observations. This occasioned a report that it was unsafe ; but *its scientific construction may bid defiance to the attacks of all but earthquakes, for centuries to come.*”\*

Among the scarce Prints belonging to the Society of Antiquaries, is one measuring about twenty-four inches by twelve inches, which appears to have been hastily engraved in a rude and scratchy style, for immediate publication after the fire. It was printed and sold “ by W. Sherwin, att his shope in Barbican, next doore to y<sup>e</sup> Green Dragon ;” and has on it the following inscription and verses.

“ The Pickture of y<sup>e</sup> most famous City of London, as it appeared in y<sup>e</sup> night ; in the Hight of its ruinous condition by Fire, Sept. 2, 1666.

“ In Forty-one, London was very Sick  
Of Tumult and Disorder ; Lunatick.

In sixty-five (y<sup>e</sup> Fatall Yeare) this City  
Was Plagued w<sup>th</sup> Tumours and had few to pity.

\* Three Persons have, at different times, committed Suicide by throwing themselves from the gallery of the Monument (into which any one is admitted on payment of sixpence), viz. a Weaver, on the 26th of June, 1750 ; John Craddock, a Baker, on July the 7th, 1788 ; and Lyon Levy, a Diamond Merchant, on the 18th of January, 1810. In September, 1732, a Sailor slid down a rope stretched from the gallery to the Three Tuns’ Tavern, Gracechurch Street ; and, by the same rope, on the following day, a Waterman’s boy descended into the street.

" In this Prodigious Yeare, a Burning Fever,  
Did seize our Mother and of Breath bereave her :  
She both in Lechery [and Flames] did Burne ;  
Her ashes lye in an neglected Vrne,

Till that her Sons, doe expiate her Crime  
By serving King and Cuntry in this time.  
How ere, her Scorched Carkas dont dispise ;  
A Phoenix from her ashes will arise."

GRESHAM COLLEGE, BISHOPSGATE STREET.

Stow, after speaking of Bishopsgate, and of "one faire Conduit hard by, within the gate," proceeds thus :—"from this Conduit have ye (amongst many faire tenements) divers fayre Innes, large for receipt of travellers, and some houses for men of worship, namely, one most spacious of all thereabouts, builded of Bricke and Timber, by *Sir Thomas Gresham*, knight, who deceased in the yeere 1579, and was buried in S. Helen's Church, under a faire monument, by him prepared in his life : hee appointed by his testament, this house to be made a Colledge of Readers."\*

Sir Thomas Gresham was a merchant of pre-eminent celebrity, the worthy descendant of "the right worshipful, ancient, pious, loyal, and charitable family of Gresham, of Gresham, in Norfolk."† Sir Richard, his father, and Sir John Gresham, his uncle,

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\* "Survey of London," p. 332 : edit. 1618.

† Vide *Pedigree*, by Le Neve, quoted in Ward's "Lives of the Professors of Gresham College," App. p. 11.

(the former of whom was Lord Mayor of London in 1537, and the latter in 1547) were highly celebrated for their knowledge of mercantile affairs, and of the general interests of the kingdom, as connected with trade and commerce. To Sir Richard, who was agent to King Henry the Eighth, for negotiating his affairs in foreign parts, and particularly at Antwerp, during his French wars," the Citizens are indebted for the original thought of the *Burse*, or *Exchange*, the erection of which was eventually accomplished by his son Sir Thomas, the munificent and enlightened founder of Gresham College.\*

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\* Pennant (whose inaccuracies are most glaringly obvious to those acquainted with our metropolitan annals, and whose work obtained its celebrity from the want of that knowledge of civic history, which is now so generally spread,) has affirmed that the "original hint" of erecting an Exchange, was given to Sir Thos. Gresham by Richard Clough, a Welshman (afterwards knighted), who, having been first the servant of Sir Thos. was advanced by him to be "his correspondent and agent, in the then emporium of the world, *Antwerp*." But the erroneousness of that statement will be evident from the following extracts of a Letter written by Sir Robert Gresham to the Lord Privy Seal (Sir Thomas Audeley) in July, 1531, viz.—"The last yeere I shewyd your lordshipe a *Platte*, that was drawn howte for to make a goodely *burse* in Lombert strette for merchantis to repayer unto. I doo suppose yt wyll coste two thousand pounds and more, wyche shall be very beautyfull to the citty, and allsoe for the honor of our soveraynge lord the kinge." He then recommends that letters from the "kyngs highness" should be sent to Sir George Moneux, the owner of certaine houses in Lombard street, commanding him to

Some short time after the completion and opening of the *Burse*, it was inspected by Queen Elizabeth (January 23d, 1570-71), who was so highly gratified by its appearance and apparent utility, that she caused it, "by an herralde and a trompet," to be proclaimed the *Royal Exchange*, "and so to be called from thenceforth, and no otherwise." On that occasion, the Queen, with her attendant nobility, dined with Sir Thomas Gresham, at his dwelling house;—and it is traditionally stated, that during the banquet, her loyal host drank to her Majesty's health in a glass of wine, into which a very costly pearl, reduced into powder, had previously been thrown. This circumstance is alluded to in an Historical play, printed in quarto, 1623, consisting of two parts; the first, representing the troubles of Elizabeth, during the reign of her sister, Queen Mary; and the second, the buikding of the Exchange, and defeat of the Spanish Armada:—Sir Thomas says,

"Here fifteen hundred pounds at one slap goes.  
Instead of sugar, Gresham drinks this Pearle  
Unto his Queen and Mistress: pledge it Lords."\*

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sell the said houses to the City at the cost price, as without them "the sayd burse cannot be made."—He further states, that if the houses are obtained, he doubts not "but to gather oon thousand pounds towarde the buldyng," ere he departs from his office. Sir Richard was then Sheriff.

\* Vide Ward's "Lives," &c. pp. 12 and 16.—The tradition states, that the Pearl, which "on account of the price had been refused by several persons of the first quality," was purchased by Sir Thomas of a foreigner.



Though such an act seems in perfect unison with the romantic gallantry of the times, we may excusably hesitate in giving it full credence. Sir Thomas knew the value of money too well to sacrifice so great a sum for a mere compliment.

By the last Will of Sir Thomas, dated on July the 5th, 1575, he bequeathed all his interest in the Royal Exchange, and his Dwelling-house, (after the decease of the Lady Anne, his wife) jointly, for ever, to the Corporation and Citizens of London, and the Company of Mercers, upon trust, that, among other conditions, they should provide seven persons, unmarried, to deliver public Lectures, gratuitously, in the seven Liberal Sciences, viz. Divinity, Astronomy, Music, Geometry, Law, Physic, and Rhetoric, within his own mansion, in Bishopsgate Street, which, with its gardens and all appurtenances, was to be appropriated to the use of the said persons, "for them and every of them there to inhabite, study, and *daylie to read* the said severall lectures."

Sir Thomas died very unexpectedly on the 21st of November, 1579, when in the 61st year of his age. Holinshed says, that coming from the Exchange to his House, between six and seven o'clock in the evening, he "suddenly fell down in his kitchen, and being taken up was found speechlesse, and presentlie dead." His Lady survived till November, 1596. In the following year the seven Professors were appointed, under the directions of Sir Thomas's will, and distinct apartments were assigned to each within his late mansion. According to most authorities,

the first Lectures were delivered in Trinity Term, 1597, but Ward argues from two *Orations*, published by Dr. Gwinne, the first Professor of Physic, that they could not have been commenced until Michaelmas Term, 1598.\*

Though, in point of fact, Sir Thomas's foundation was not precisely a Collegiate one, yet by general courtesy, it acquired the appellation of *Gresham College* almost immediately after it was occupied by the Professors.† To this, probably, the regulations originally established by the trustees contributed, as the Professors were to have "a common table" within the house, and for "the more order and comeliness, to read their Lectures as the manner is in the Uni-

\* Vide his "Lives of the Professors," p. 261.

† Sir Thomas, indeed, had so much the credit of a design of that kind, that the Vice-Chancellor and Senate of the University of Cambridge, by their public orator, in March, 1574-5, wrote him an elegant Latin letter, in which they first acquaint him with a report they had heard, "that he had promised the Lady Burghley both to found and endow a *College* for the seven Liberal Sciences;" and next, they endeavour to dissuade him from making choice of London for such a purpose, "lest it should prove prejudicial to the two Universities:" lastly, they express their hope, that he will not make choice of Oxford, "since he was himself bred at Cambridge, which might presume upon a superior regard from him upon that account." At the same time they wrote another letter to the Lady Burghley, in which they earnestly request that she will use her interest with him to make him fix upon Cambridge for the place of his intended College.— See Ward's "Lives," p. 19; and App. iii.

versities, viz. in such *Hoods* and *Habits* as fit their degree."\* Ward says, "The situation of the place, spaciousness of the fabric, extending Westward from Bishopsgate-street into Broad-street, with the eight Alms-houses situated at the back part of the house; the accommodations for separate apartments of the several Professors, and other rooms for common use; the open courts, and covered walks; with the several offices, stables, and gardens; seemed all so well suited for such an intention, as if Sir Thomas had it in view, at the time he built the house."

Many very eminent men have been Professors in this College; and here, also, about the year 1645, some of the first meetings were held of those erudite scholars and philosophers, whose weekly conferences gave birth to the Royal Society. But their pursuits were interrupted by the Civil War, and on the death of the Protector Oliver, in September, 1658, the College was occupied as a military garrison, and all the Professors, except one, constrained to leave it.† After

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\* Vide the "Articles" at large in Strype's *Stow*, vol. i. pp. 128—130.

† In a Letter of Bishop Sprat to Professor Wren, afterwards Sir Christopher, dated in 1658, and published in the "*Parentalia*," is this passage.—"This day I went to visit Gresham College, but found the place in such a nasty condition, so defiled, and the smells so infernal, that if you should now come to make use of your tube, it would be like Dives looking out of Hell into Heaven. Dr. Goddard, of all your colleagues, keeps possession, which he never could be able to do, had he not before prepared his nose for camp perfumes, by his voyage into Scotland, and had he not such excellent restoratives in his cellars."

the Restoration, the Lectures were resumed, and the Members of the Royal Society, which was incorporated by Charles the Second, in 1662, held their regular assemblies here until the occurrence of the Great Fire of 1666, when Gresham College, which had fortunately escaped the flames, was for several years "employed for carrying on the trade and transacting the public affairs of the City."\* During this second interruption, the Royal Society met at Arundel House, in the Strand, but on the completion of the Royal Exchange, in 1673, they returned hither, and continued their meetings till November, 1710, when they removed to Crane-court, in Fleet-street.

This removal proved a great disadvantage to the Gresham Professors, who, in consequence, were deprived of the use of the valuable museum and library which belonged to the Society.† From other cir-

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\* Ward's "Lives," p. 175. The lodgings of the Divinity and Law Professors were assigned for the accommodation of the Lord Mayor, and the Mercers' Company, and the residue of the apartments (except the Astronomer's lodgings), with the Reading Hall, &c. for the City courts and officers. In the south and west galleries, and in the piazza under the former, small shops were erected for the Exchange tenants; and the quadrangle was allotted for the regular meetings of the Merchants, as in the Exchange itself. Sheds were also erected, in every available place, for the general convenience of the citizens. "Thus," continues our author, "Gresham College became an epitome of this great city, and the centre of all affairs, both public and private, which were then transacted in it."—*Ibid*, Preface, p. xiv.

† The Museum was first established in 1665, by the gift of

cumstances, also, which it would be tedious to particularize, dissensions arose between the Professors and the College trustees, and the utility of the institution was progressively deteriorated. The buildings were suffered to fall into ruinous decay, till at last they were entirely unfit for habitation. The ground, indeed, had become of much greater value, and the trustees had long been desirous of appropriating it to purposes of *pecuniary* interest, yet for this legislative interference was requisite. The first application, made in 1704, was opposed by the Professors, and unsuccessful: but, upwards of sixty years after, viz. in 1768, an Act was obtained, authorizing the sale of Gresham College to the Commissioners of Excise, for the purpose of building a new *Excise Office* upon its site. This was almost immediately carried into effect, and the extensive fabric, now forming the central focus of the Excise establishment, was erected upon that spot, from which knowledge had been widely disseminated, and where Philosophy and Science had swayed an united sceptre.†

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Daniel Colwall, Esq. F.R.S. of a very curious collection of natural and artificial rarities, to which many other curiosities were soon added by different members. In 1681, Dr. N. Grew, one of the secretaries, published a valuable Catalogue of the entire collection, with the title "*Musæum Regalis Societatis*;" which was dedicated to Mr. Colwall, the founder, at whose expense the plates were engraven. Ned Ward, in his "London Spy," part iii., has given a brief satirical account of this Museum, in the article *Wiseacre's Hall*, as he ironically styles Gresham College.

† Some further particulars of the Gresham foundation will

By the annexed plate, copied from an engraving by Vertue in Ward's "Lives of the Professors," a clear idea may be obtained of the former state of this College. The view is looking eastward : the more distant buildings are those which communicated with Bishopsgate-street, among which the reading hall is discoverable by its gable end nearly in front. On the south and north sides of the quadrangle, the area of which was about 100 feet square, were piazzas, or arcades ; and over the southern arcade was a long gallery, of which a projecting window shews the west end. There was likewise a gallery on the west side, above the eight alms-houses in front, distinguished by protruding doorways : the other parts were appropriated to the Professors. This side was upwards of 200 feet in length, and opened towards Broad-street.

A singular anecdote is connected with this print. At the entrance of the open archway, seen in front, (which led to the stables and other offices) two persons are represented, the one on his knees, with his arms extended, and his sword dropt, and the other standing over him with his sword elevated. These figures were designed for Drs. Mead and Woodward, the latter of whom was Professor of Physic in Gresham College, and they allude to a transaction of which

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be inserted in volume iii., under the head Royal Exchange. It is highly to be wished, that the total inefficiency of the Lectures, as now delivered, for the purposes contemplated by Gresham, should become a subject of Parliamentary attention ; and that the Professorships should be attached to one of our new London Colleges !



the following is the history. "In the exertion of his profession, Dr. Woodward had said or done something that had given offence to Dr. Mead. Mead, resenting it, was determined to have satisfaction, and meeting Woodward in this place, when he was returning to his lodgings in the College, drew, as did his adversary ; but Mead, having obtained the advantage of him, commanded him to beg his life. Woodward answered, with some wit, 'No ! Doctor, that I will not, till I am your patient.' However, he yielded, and his submission is marked by a situation that represents him tendering his sword.—Dr. Mead was the friend and patron of Ward, which may possibly account for the above fact being so singularly recorded."\*

#### INTENDED MONUMENT FOR KING HENRY VI.

Henry the Sixth, who was born at Windsor in December, 1421, succeeded to the throne within nine months after his birth, amid the fairest and most brilliant prospects that ever opened on a new reign. England was exclusively his own, and nearly the whole of France had submitted to British domination. But the bright promise of his youth was quickly clouded, and the sun of his early hopes set in darkness and blood. His education had been entrusted to Beaufort, his ambitious uncle, the Cardinal Bishop of Winchester, and, by a natural consequence, he was rendered more fit to govern a cloister than to

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\* "Monthly Magazine," vol. xxii. p. 243.

direct the perturbed councils of a warlike nation. His life was chequered by a romantic diversity of good and evil fortune, but the latter predominated, and his days closed in wretchedness, whilst a prisoner in the Tower. Grafton says, "constant fame ranne," that he was murdered by Richard, Duke of Gloucester, "with a dagger;" yet later historians have contrasted this report with known facts, and raised a strong presumption of its inaccuracy. It is far more probable, that his decease, which happened in 1471, was occasioned by extreme grief. His corpse was interred at Chertsey Abbey, in Surrey, but it was afterwards removed to Windsor by King Richard the Third, and deposited in St. George's Chapel, within the choir.

The reputed sanctity of this monarch, combined with Henry the Seventh's desire to rest his right to the crown upon his Lancastrian descent, induced the latter sovereign to make application to the Papal See for the Canonization of his devout predecessor; to whose memory he designed to found a chapel at Windsor, and erect therein a stately monument over his remains, which were said "to have wrought miracles!"\*

In this stage of the proceedings, the Abbot and Convent of Westminster petitioned the King, claiming to have the body of Henry removed into their

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\* From the Commission of Inquiry, issued by the Pope on this projected Canonization, we learn that, by Henry's intercession, "the blind were said to receive their sight, the deaf to hear, and the lame to walk."

Church, "as being the place he himself, in his lifetime, had chosen for his own burial." This claim was disputed by the religious establishments of Chertsey and Windsor, and all the parties were examined before the King in Council. On the third hearing, an unanimous decision was given in favour of Westminster. Soon afterwards, the King obtained the requisite license from Pope Julius II., for the removal of Henry's reliques to the Abbey Church:—but the design of canonizing him was abandoned, the exorbitant demands of the Court of Rome for such exaltation, being far greater than the King was willing to comply with.

Widmore, in his History of Westminster Abbey, states, from the "*Sacrist's Accounts*," that the body of Henry the VIth was actually removed to Westminster by the Convent, in 1501, at an expense of 500l. Yet it is impossible that this could be the fact, for the license of Pope Julius to remove the King's remains was not granted until the 13th of the kalends of June, 1504; and Henry the VIIth, in his own Will, dated in April, 1509, expressly declares his intention to translate "*right shortly*," into the Monastery of Westminster, "the *bodie and reliques* of our Vncle of blessed memorie King Henry the VIth." In the Will of Henry the VIIIth is also mentioned the design of that King to repair Henry the VIth's tomb; which, according to Ashmole's "*Berkshire*," stood in St. George's Chapel, "between the choir and the altar, under an arch on the south side." It

may therefore be affirmed, that Henry's remains were never removed from Windsor.

In the British Museum,\* is a beautifully-executed outline drawing of the *Monument* which Henry the Seventh had intended to raise for his sanctified relative. It was elegantly designed in the Pointed style, as will be seen from the annexed print, copied from the original print, which is a sort of perspective elevation, exhibiting the front and one side of the projected memorial.

#### BERMONDSEY ABBEY, SOUTHWARK.

Bermondsey Abbey, of which the annexed engraving represents an ancient gateway and some other remains, was founded by Aylwin Childe, a rich citizen of London, in 1082; and William the Conqueror, and his successor, Rufus, are named among its primary benefactors. Childe's first work, was the building of a Church, dedicated to our Saviour, contiguous to the spot now occupied by the parochial church of St. Mary Magdalen, but a little to the south. To that edifice, which in the Domesday Book, is called "*nova et pulchra Ecclesia*," he annexed a Convent of Cluniac Monks, sent hither at the instance of Archbishop Lanfranc, from the Priory of *La Charité sur le Loire*, in Nivernois, to which it, consecutively, became subordinate as a cell.

In the 45th of Edward III., it was sequestered,

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\* "Bibl. Cott." Augustus II.

among other alien priories, to the use of the crown ; but Richard the Ild. re-established it, in the second of his reign, and two years afterwards, in consideration of a fine of 200 marks, enfranchised it, and thus enabled its members to purchase and possess lands in their own right. By this sovereign, also, in 1399, it was erected into an Abbey, at the intercession of the then Prior, John Attelburgh, who became the first Abbot. But little is known of the internal history of this foundation ; and it must suffice to state, that the forty-seven first Priors were foreigners. The first Englishman who filled the office, was Richard Denton, or Dunton, elected in 1372, who rebuilt the cloister and refectory ; and, among his other benefactions, relieved his monks from their subjection to the alien Priory in Normandy.

It is probable, that the monastic buildings were of considerable extent, as the Court, on different occasions, assembled here on affairs of state. At Christmas, in 1154, Henry the IId, immediately after his first coronation, treated here with his nobles, on the state of the kingdom. In the reign of Henry the IIIId, many of the nobility, having assumed the cross, met here to deliberate on the order of their journey to the Holy Land. Catharine, the Queen of Henry the VIth, retired to this sanctuary, either for devotion or safety, and here she died, on the 3rd of January, 1437. Elizabeth Widville, also, the Queen of Edward IV., was confined to this monastery by her son-in-law, Henry the VIIth, who, from the jealousy of his

disposition, and, on pretences as absurd as cruel, deprived her of all her possessions, and restrained her to this Abbey, where she passed the remainder of her life in mournfulness and penury. By her will, which bears date on the 10th of April, 1492, she appears to have been almost entirely destitute of property of any kind; for after assigning "her small stuff and goods to the contentation of her debts," she merely bequeaths her blessing to her Children, in the following plaintiff and pathetic manner:—"Item. Whereas I have no worldly goods to do the Queen's grace, my dearest daughter, a pleasure with, neither to reward any of my Children according to my heart and mind, I beseech Almighty God to bless her Grace, with all her noble issue, and with as good heart and mind as is to me possible, I give her Grace my blessing, and all the aforesaid my Children."

In 1537, this foundation was surrendered to Henry VIII., by Robert de Wharton, alias Parfew, its last Abbot, who in the preceding year had been raised to the See of St. Asaph, and was likewise rewarded with a pension of 500 marks. According to Speed, its annual revenues amounted to 548l. 2s. 5½d.; but Dugdale states them at only 474l. 14s. 4¾d. In July, 1541, the site of the Abbey was granted to Sir Robert Southwell; soon after which the conventual Church was pulled down by Sir Thomas Pope, by whom it had been purchased, and who erected a splendid mansion upon the site. That edifice became the habitation of the *Ratcliffs*, Earls of Sussex, and within its walls, 'Thomas Ratcliff, the Earl of Leices-



ter's great rival in the favour of Queen Elizabeth, breathed his last.

The ancient Gateway, with its postern, shewn in the print, stands at the north-west corner of *King John's Court*, in which also was a house of considerable antiquity, bearing a like appellation. St. Mary Magdalen's Church was originally founded by the Priors of Bermondsey for the conveniency of their neighbouring tenants. It was made parochial after the Dissolution; and, in 1680, re-built in a very plain style, but it has since been repaired and ornamentally fitted up.

#### WESTMINSTER HALL.

Such a short period has elapsed since the removal of the Coffee-houses from the great entrance of WESTMINSTER HALL, that no proof is required of their having actually stood there; but, that this capacious apartment was once fitted up with counters, &c. for Book and Printsellers, Mathematical Instrument Makers, Sempstresses, and other tradespeople, is now a fact so fast receding from memory, that a short article upon the subject may not be uninteresting.

The annexed Print, which represents the *Interior* of the Hall, as it appeared early in George the Second's reign,\* was taken from an engraving by C. Mosley, after a delineation by Gravelot. At the

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\* The date 1770, at the bottom of the Print, is a mistake for 1730.

bottom are the following lines, which are illustrative of the view itself.

*Westminster Hall in Term Time.*

When Fools fall out, for ev'ry flaw  
 They run horn mad to go to Law ;  
 A *Hedge* awry, a wrong-plac'd *Gate*,  
 Will serve to spend a whole Estate ;  
 "Your *Case*," the Lawyer says, "is good,  
 "And *Justice* cannot be withstood."  
 By tedious *Process* from above  
 From Office they to Office move ;  
 Thro' *Pleas*, *Demurrers*, the Dev'l & all,  
 At length they bring it to the *Hall* ;  
 The dreadful Hall, by *Rufus* rais'd,  
 For lofty *Gothick* Arches prais'd.  
 The *First* of TERM, the fatal day,  
 Doth various Images convey ;  
 First, from y<sup>e</sup> Courts w<sup>th</sup> clam'rous bawl  
 The Criers their *Attorneys* call :  
 One of y<sup>e</sup> *Gown*, discreet and wise,  
 By *Proper Means* his Witness tries :  
 From *Wreathock's* Gang, not Right or Laws,  
 H<sup>e</sup> assures his trembling Client's Cause.  
 This Gnaws his Handkerchief, whilst that  
 Gives the kind ogling Nymph his Hat :  
 Here one in Love with Choiristers,  
 Minds *Singing* more than *Law Affairs*.  
 A *Serjeant* limping on behind  
 Shews *Justice* *Lame* as well as *Blind* :  
 To gain new Clients some dispute,  
 Others protract an *Ancient* Suit ;  
*Jargon* and *Noise* alone prevail,  
 While Sense and Reason 's sure to fail.  
 At *Babel* thus *Law Terms* began,  
 And now at *Westm—er* go on.

In the foremost group is the Advocate, whose subornation of perjury is so broadly hinted at in the above lines, in the act of offering money to one of "Wreathock's Gang," which was composed of *Men of Straw*; that is, wretches who sold themselves to give any evidence, upon oath, which the case required. Wreathock himself was a villainous attorney, who, in 1736, received sentence of death for his corrupt practices, and had afterwards his sentence commuted into transportation for life.\* The "limping Serjeant" is easily distinguished by his stick and *coif*, or black cap, for which costume, in more modern times, a small circular piece of black silk has been substituted, on the crown of the wig. The Law Courts, viz. those of the King's Bench and Chancery, at the upper end of the Hall, and of the Common Pleas on the west side, were quite open at top, and not enclosed from sight or hearing as before their removal at the last coronation. On the east side, are the shops of three booksellers, an optician, and two female dealers in haberdashery, &c. On the opposite side, is another bookseller's, a map and printseller's, and lastly, in front of a gallery overlooking the Common Pleas' Court, is the "kind nymph," who takes charge of the barrister's hat, and behind whom

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\* Hone's "Every-day Book," vol. i. p. 157. Many years ago, it was customary for the most shameless of those who sought employment as witnesses, to walk openly in Westminster Hall with a "straw in the shoe," to denote their quality.—Ibid.

hangs a line of those "turnovers" and "ruffles," which, according to Ned Ward, were so nicely digitized and plaited by the sempstresses of Westminster Hall for the young law students.\*

In the Cloisters of Westminster Abbey, is a tablet in memory of Mr. John Stagg, who died in 1746, and is described "of Westminster Hall, Bookseller." There are, also, various works extant which, from the imprints, are known to have been published here.

EARLY DRAMA IN ENGLAND.—RESTRICTIONS ON PLAYERS.—BOAR'S HEAD, WITHOUT ALDGATE.

In the Catholic times, Histrionic representations were almost wholly confined to *Mysteries* and *Moralities*, the characters of which were played by ecclesiastics and friars, assisted by the choristers and singing boys belonging to our principal Church and Scholastic foundations. The Parish Clerks of London, and the *Children* (as they were called) of Paul's and the Chapel-Royal, were highly celebrated for their performance of the above kind of spectacle, but when, after the Reformation, the Drama assumed a more domestic and familiar tone, the joculars and minstrels of the day formed themselves into distinct companies for the exhibition of Interludes and Stage Plays. These companies were, at first, *itinerant* ;

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\* Vide Ward's "London Spy," part viii. in which the author has given a humorous account of the proceedings in the Courts, &c. at Westminster Hall, but mingled with his usual ribaldry.

their Theatre was the Inn-Yard and the Barn, and as they seldom kept within the due bounds of decorum, they were frequently subjected to severe restrictions. As their professional talents, however, in the representation of life and manners, became more decided, they obtained protection from the nobility, and were registered as their *Servants*, and under that appellation allowed to exercise their histrionic vocation without being amenable to the laws against vagrants and mummers. This may be regarded as the first step towards the establishment of the regular Drama.

A curious instance of the summary way in which the Players were treated in Queen Mary's reign, occurs in the abridged Extracts from the proceedings of the Privy Council, now in the British Museum, as will be seen from the following passages.\*

“ At St. James's, the v. Daye of Sept. an. 1557.

“ A Letter to the Lord Mayor of London to give order forthwith, that some of his officers do forthwith repaire to the *Bore's Head* w<sup>thout</sup> Aldgate, where the Lordes are enformed a lewde play called ‘*A Sacke* full of Newse,’ shal be plaied this daye, the Plaieres whereof he is willed to apprehende and to comitt to safe warde untill he shall heare further from hence, and to take their Playe-booke from them, and to send the same hether.”

“ At West<sup>r</sup> the vj Daye of Sep. 1557.

“ A Letter to the Lord Mayor, willing him to set at liberty the Players by him apprehended by order from

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\* Vide MSS. Bibl. Harl. Nos. 256 ; 352 ; 643. The Extracts were made by Ra. Starkey about 1620, and contain Minutes of Proceedings from the year 1545 till 1558.

hence yesterday, and to give them and all other Players throughout the City in commandment not to play any Plays but between the Feast of All Saints and Shroftyde, and then only such [as] are allowed by the Ordinary of the Parish."

ST. OLAVE'S, OR TOOLEY-STREET, SOUTHWARK.—ST.  
OLAVE'S CHURCH.—ABBATIAL RESIDENCES.—  
THE MAZE.

One of the greatest corruptions, perhaps, in a proper appellation, which the Metropolis affords, is in the name of *Tooley* Street, which was originally called *St. Olave's* Street, from the patron Saint of the parish Church.\* That edifice, which stands at a short distance from London Bridge eastward, is of very ancient foundation, as appears from its dedication to St. Olave, or *Olaf*, a Danish Prince, who was massacred by his Pagan subjects. Stow describes it as "a faire and meetely large Church;" but having become ruinous, it was replaced by the present inelegant structure, between the years 1737 and 1739.

"Over against this Church," says the same writer, "on the south side of the street, was sometime one great House, builded of stone, with arched gates, which pertained to the *Prior of Lewis*, in Sussex, and was his *Lodging* when he came to London. It is

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\* Nearly a similar corruption obtains in Huntingdonshire, where a long and narrow lane, leading from St. Ives towards Ely, is called *Tawdry-lane*, from having been the way along which, in former times, the religious processions to *St. Audrey's Shrine*, in Ely Cathedral, were usually conducted.



now a common Hosterie for Travellers, and hath to signe, the Walnut-tree.\* This Inn gave name to *Walnut-tree Court*, at the upper end of which, when Maitland wrote, were some remains of the old building occupied as a wine vault and cyder cellar: the latter he states was the Chapel, consisting of two aisles, and then under ground, from the earth having been greatly raised in this neighbourhood.†

At a short distance from St. Olave's Church, eastward, near the Bridge House, was another "great House of stone and timber," which, in the 13th century, was held of John, Earl Warren, by the Abbot of St. Augustin's, at Canterbury. That nobleman, in 1281, for "five shillings of rent yeerly," in Southwark, granted it, in perpetual alms, to the then Abbot and his successors, with all its appurtenances. Stow says, "It was an ancient piece of worke, and seemeth to be one of the first builded houses on that side the river, over against the City: it was called the *Abbot's Inne of St. Augustine* in Southwark."‡ Early in Elizabeth's reign it was occupied by the St. Leger's, but afterwards it was "divided into sundry tenements."|| Its site is still pointed out by the corrupt appellation of *Sellenger's Wharf*.

There was also another "*Inne*" near this spot, which belonged to the *Abbey of Battle*, in Sussex, and formed the town residence of its Abbots. This stood

\* Stow's "London," p. 786: edit. 1618.

† Maitland's "London," p. 1389: edit. 1772.

‡ Stow's "London," p. 787: edit. 1618.

|| Ibid.

on the banks of the Thames, between the Bridge House and *Battle Bridge*, which was so called, "for that it standeth on the ground, and over a water-course (flowing out of Thames) pertayning to that Abbey, and was therefore both builded and repayred " by the Abbots of that house, as being hard adjoyn- ing to the Abbot's lodging." \* Its situation is known by the landing-place, called *Battle Stairs*.—On the opposite side of Tooley-street is a low neighbourhood of meanly-built streets and passages, still denomi- nated the *Maze*, from the intricacies of a labyrinth in the gardens of the Abbot of Battle's Inn, and which fronted its entrance gate.

WESTMINSTER ABBEY.—MONUMENT OF RICHARD  
THE SECOND, AND ANNE OF BOHEMIA,  
HIS FIRST QUEEN.

This monument, which stands on the south side of St. Edward's Chapel, was erected by command of King Richard himself, and in his own life time. It is mentioned in the King's will, and there are two in- dentures concerning it in Rymer's "*Fœdera*."† By the first Indenture, it appears that Queen Anne was interred immediately beneath the tomb, which was to be constructed after a model, bearing the seal of the Treasurer of England, to be completed in two years from Michaelmas, 1395, at the cost of 250*l.* besides

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\* Ibid. p. 788.

† Vide Nichols's "*Royal Wills*," and "*Fœdera*," vol. vii. first edit.

a gratuity of 20l. if well and properly made. In the second Indenture it is covenanted that *Nicholas Broker* and *Godfrey Prest*, Citizens and Copper-smiths of London, shall make, or cause to be made, two Images of copper and brass, gilt and crowned, with their right hands joined and clasped together, and holding sceptres in their left, with a ball and cross; the one to resemble the King, and the other the Queen; that the said figures shall be placed on a metal table, gilt, and ornamented with a fret-work of fleurs-de-lis, lions, eagles, and leopards; that there shall be a tabernacle with canopies ('hovels, or gabletz'), of gilt metal and double jambs, with two lions at the feet of the King, and an eagle and a leopard at the Queen's feet; that there shall be twelve images of saints, of metal gilt, at the side of the tomb, and eight angels round it, with such inscriptions, and such escutcheons of arms engraven and enamelled, as the King or his Treasurer should assign; and that all the said work shall be executed from an attested model, within two years from Michaelmas, 1395, at the charge of 400l.; one hundred of which was to be paid down, and the remainder in four instalments.\*

Queen Anne died, without issue, on the 7th of June, 1394, having been a wife twelve years: she was daughter of the Emperor Charles the Fourth, and sister of the Emperor Wenceslaus. King Richard has

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\* See the Indenture in the "Fœdera," which is in old French.

been described as a Prince of surpassing beauty, but his mental powers did not correspond with his personal form, and his character was both weak and treacherous. He was the second son of Edward, the Black Prince, by Joan of Kent, called Joan the Fair, Countess of Holland ; and was born in the year 1366 at Bourdeaux, in France, where Edward kept his court, whilst ruling over the Principality of Aquitain. The murder of his uncle, Thomas of Woodstock, was one of the most atrocious acts of Richard's life, and it is not undeserving of remark that it became a principal cause of his own ruin. Within a twelvemonth after he was deposed by Henry of Bolingbroke, his cousin, on whom, September the 30th, 1399, the Parliament bestowed the crown. The dethroned Sovereign was imprisoned in Pontefract Castle, Yorkshire, where, on St. Valentine's Day, 1399-1400, he breathed his last. His death was not a natural one, but whether occasioned by open violence, enforced starvation, or voluntary fasting, is not with certainty known. In the manifesto of Archbishop Scrope and the confederate Lords in Henry the IVth's time, it is affirmed that he was starved to death, and with this the older writers accord ; but Fabian, and other historians, have stated that he was assassinated by Sir Piers de Exton, in what is now called the Bloody Tower, at Pontefract. Sir Piers is said to have been influenced by some obscure expressions of the new Sovereign, and taking with him eight men, to have entered Richard's chamber, where, after a severe contest, he struck out his brains with a pole-axe ; four of the

assailants having been previously killed by Richard with a bill which he had snatched from one of the assassins.\* Walsingham says, that his death was caused by grief and voluntary hunger; but Stow asserts that he was kept for fifteen days in hunger, thirst, and cold, till he died. Whatever be the fact, the reigning King, Henry, was anxious that the knowledge of his death should be generally promulgated, and for that purpose, "he lette sere him in a lynnen clothe, save his visage," which "was left opyn, that men myght see and knowe his persone,"\* and had him brought to London, where he was exposed to public view for three days in St. Paul's Cathedral. He was, at first, buried in the Church of the Fryars' Preachers at Langley, in Hertfordshire: but Henry Vth, soon after his own coronation, had his remains brought to Westminster, and interred near those of his beloved Queen.

This Monument consists of a large and broad tomb, or pedestal, of grey Petworth marble, upon which, on a metal table, lie the full-length figures of Richard and his Queen. On each side the tomb are eight canopied niches on a quatrefoil basement, separated from each other by small buttresses, and triple tiers of double arches, pannelled: each end is divided into eight compartments by similar pannelling. The original elegance of the sculptured work has been long destroyed; partly from wanton devastation, and partly from all the finest parts having crumbled away.

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\* Vide "Dun. Chron." fol. 161; in Bibl. Harl.

Mr. Gough states, that the quatrefoils below the niches were once covered with "shields enamelled on copper;" but not a single shield now remains.

The recumbent statues of Richard and Anne, together with the canopies, or rather pediments, of the tabernacle-work which formerly surmounted them, and the table covering the tomb, are all of a mixed metal, apparently brass and copper. Stow, speaking of these figures, says, "the moulds were made, and the images cast," by B. [Broker] and Godfrey, of Wood-street, goldsmiths; and that "the charges of gilding them exceeded four hundred marks." Scarcely any of the gilding, however, is at present visible, except on one part of Richard's mantle, which has been rubbed bright; all the other parts being thickly coated with indurated dust. The King is habited like an ecclesiastic, or religious person: his mantle has a falling cape, and his bushy hair is turned back at the sides in curls, leaving the ears exposed: he has whiskers, and a beard about two inches in length, curiously disposed into two pointed ends. His countenance, as remarked by Gough, "is rather that of a heavy debauchee, than of a jolly handsome young man." It appears from Sandford, that the King originally held the Queen's right hand in his own, as was ordered in the indenture for making the tomb: but the arms of both figures have been stolen, as well as the two lions that were at Richard's feet, and the eagle and leopard at those of the Queen. This position of the hands was indicative of the great affection which Richard bore to his consort, and which, in the



extravagance of his grief at her loss, occasioned him to curse the place of her death (Sheen, in Surrey, now Richmond), and to command that the buildings of the palace where she died should be demolished. The Queen is arrayed in a cloak, boddice, and petticoat ; the former has been fastened on each shoulder by a brooch, or pin, but that on the left only remains : the boddice is closely buttoned by twelve buttons : the petticoat was fastened by two rose jewels, now lost, and bound by a slender girdle, having a rich buckle in front. The hair is dishevelled and falls back. She has a full, pleasing countenance, with a double chin. the petticoat descends so low, that only the sharp points of her shoes are visible. The Queen lies upon a thin pallet, or mattress ; but the cushions which were under the heads of both figures have been taken away. Sandford and Dart describe the King's mantle as being wrought with open peas-cods, or shells, the peas out ; and though Mr. Gough has remarked, " one would wonder what suggested this idea ;" yet the peas-cods are yet faintly discernible where the gilding has been rubbed bright. Above each figure is a five-faced pyramidal canopy or pediment, having a rose in the centre of the groining, and crockets, &c. at the angles : these, in the indenture before referred to, are called "hovels," or gabletz ;" and they are described as connected with "double jambs" on each side, which were once ornamented with the figures of twelve saints, but not any of the latter are now remaining.

The south side of the sub-basement of this tomb is

ornamented with six large quatrefoils, radiated; on which, affixed at the centres, were formerly shields of arms, but all of them have been long stolen. Through the holes left by this removal (and which were, at length, stopped up by order of Dean Thomas), some coffin boards, and various human bones were to be seen: the latter were commonly supposed to be the remains of Richard and his Queen; and Mr. Gough has stated in his "*Sepulchral Monuments*," that "he examined both the skulls pretty closely, but could find on the King's no mark of St. Piers' pole-axe." This examination, however, does not decide the historical question to which it was intended to apply; for it may not unreasonably be presumed, that the bodies of the deceased Sovereigns were deposited within the tomb itself, like those of Edward the Confessor and Edward 1st, and not in the ground beneath it.

On the under part of the wooden canopy that extends over Richard's tomb, are remains of different paintings *in oil*, in four compartments. Though greatly injured by the air and damp, the subjects may yet be distinguished, and they display traces of elegance and masterly execution. They are painted on an absorbent ground, which has been richly gilt, though now changed to a dingy yellow, and in some places almost black: it has also been thickly embossed with quatrefoils, and other minute ornaments in plastic. In each of the end compartments were depicted two angels, supporting a shield, crowned, emblazoned with the arms of Anne of Bohemia, viz. quarterly, an eagle displayed, with two heads, sable (the Imperial

Arms), and gules, a lion rampant, quevée forchède, argent, crowned or (the Arms of Bohemia), impaling those of her husband, Richard II. The second compartment from the west, was enriched with a representation of the Almighty in an aureolus, or glory, seated on a throne, and portrayed as a venerable old man, the "Ancient of Days," in a close garment, with his hand raised as in the act of benediction. In the remaining compartment was another sitting figure, probably intended for Jesus Christ, with the Virgin Mother before him, in a devotional attitude, with her hands crossed over her breast; the right hand of Jesus is extended as if blessing her: this compartment has suffered least from the ravages of time. The diapering of the ground of this canopy bears a considerable resemblance to that of the curious picture of Richard II. in the Jerusalem Chamber.

On the verge, or ledge, of the metal table, is a jingling inscription, in Latin rhymes, in commemoration of the deceased Sovereigns; it begins on the north side, and within the first letter, is a feather with a scroll, which was a badge of Edward III.

#### ELY HOUSE, HOLBORN.

ELY HOUSE, or *Ely Inn*, as it was anciently called, stood on the north side of Holborn Hill, and was the town mansion of the Bishops of Ely. Its first occupier was Bishop John de Kirkeby, who dying in 1290, bequeathed a messuage and nine cottages on this spot, to his successors in the diocese. William de Luda, the next Bishop, annexed some lands and other

dwellings to this residence, and in 1298, devised them to his See, on condition that 1000 marks should be paid by his immediate successor towards the maintenance of three Chaplains for the service of the *Chapel* here ; which was dedicated to St. Etheldreda, the virgin patroness of Ely Cathedral. Bishop John de Hotham, who died in 1336, enlarged this demesne by annexing to it a vineyard, kitchen garden, orchard, &c. which he had purchased in 1327, of Henry de Grey, son of John de Grey, Lord of Ruthyn.\* Some additional lands were given by succeeding Bishops ; and Thomas de Arundel, who was preferred to the See of Ely in 1374, and whom Malcolm preposterously states to have expended the " greatest portion " of his revenues on this palace, completely re-edified the episcopal buildings. He also erected a large gate-house, or front, towards the street or highway;† and the palatial Chapel, which still exists, may, from its architectural character, be fairly presumed to have been re-built by the same prelate.

Ely House is frequently mentioned in our civic annals ; and, it appears from Stow, that " for the large and commodious roomes thereof, divers great and solemn feasts have been kept in it, especially by the Serjeants at the Lawe." In this mansion,

" Old John of Gaunt, time-honoured Lancaster," expired, on the 3rd of February, 1399 ; and Shakespeare has, in consequence, chosen it for the scene of

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\* Bentham's " Ely Cathedral," vol. i. p. 158 : edit. 1812.

† Stow's " Survey," p. 727 : edit. 1618.

that nobleman's last interview with Richard the Second, his profligate nephew :

“ His tongue is now a stringless instrument ;  
Words, life, and all, old Lancaster has spent.”

Our immortal bard, also, following the Chronicles of Hall and Holinshed (whose primary authority, in this instance, was Sir Thomas More), refers to this mansion in his Richard the Third, in which drama the Duke of Gloucester, at the Council in the Tower, thus addresses the Bishop of Ely :

“ My lord of Ely, when I was last in Holborn,  
I saw good strawberries in your garden there ;  
I do beseech you, send for some of them.”\*

One of the most noted *Feasts* given at Ely House by the Serjeants at Law, was in November 1531, (23rd of Henry VIII.), on the occasion of making eleven new Serjeants. They kept open house for five successive days ; and on Monday, November 13th, which was the fourth and principal day, King Henry himself, with his Queen, Katharine of Arragon, and the Foreign Ambassadors, were feasted in dif-

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\* In this passage, as well as in most of his historical scenes, Shakspeare has scarcely done more than versified the language of the Chroniclers. Hall says, that the Protector after a little talking with the lords on entering the Council Chamber, spake thus to the Bishop of Ely : “ My lorde you have verye good strawberies in your garden at Holborne, I require you let us have a messe of them.”—“ Gladly, my lord (q<sup>d</sup> he), I would I had some better thing as redy to your pleasure as that ;” and with that in all haste he sent his ser-vaunt for a dish of strawberries.

ferent chambers; the Judges, with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and principal citizens, were banquetted in the hall, and numerous other guests, as knights, esquires, and gentlemen, with the *crafts* of London, were entertained in different parts of the edifice.—Stow remarks, that “the preparations of fish, flesh, and other victuals spent in this feast, would seeme almost incredible, and wanted little of a feast at a Coronation.” He then particularizes the following articles and prices, in order to furnish *data* for computing the relative value of money at different periods.

	s.	d.
Great Beeves, from the shambles, twenty-four, each	26	8
One carcass of an Ox - - -	24	0
Fat Muttons, one hundred, each - -	2	10
Great Veals, fifty-one, each - - -	4	8
Porks, thirty-four, each - - -	3	8
Pigs, ninety-one, each - - -	0	6
Capons of Greece (of one Poulterer, for they had three) ten dozen, each Capon - -	1	8
Capons of Kent, nine dozen and six, ditto -	1	0
Capons, coarse, nineteen dozen, ditto -	0	6
Cocks of grose [Grouse?] seven dozen and nine, each cock - - -	0	8
Cocks, coarse, fourteen dozen and eight, ditto	0	3
Pullets, the best, each - - -	0	2½
Other Pullets, each - - -	0	2
Pidgeons, thirty-seven dozen, per dozen -	0	10
Swans, twenty-four dozen - - -	-	-
Larks, 340 dozen, per dozen - - -	0	5

An important change in the possession of this estate, and a division of the property, took place in



the reign of Queen Elizabeth, in whose eighteenth year, and at whose *mandatory* requests, Bishop Richard Cox “granted to Christopher Hatton, afterwards Sir Christopher [and Lord Chancellor], the gate-house of the palace (except two rooms, used as prisons for those who were arrested, or delivered in execution to the Bishop’s bailiff; and the lower rooms, used for the porter’s lodge), the first courtyard within the gate-house, to the long gallery, dividing it from the second: the stables there; the long gallery, with the rooms above and below it, and some others; fourteen acres of land, and the keeping of the garden and orchard, for twenty-one years, paying at Midsummer-day a *red rose* for the gate-house and garden, and for the ground ten loads of hay, and 10*l.* *per annum*; the Bishop reserving to himself and successors free access through the gate-house, walking in the gardens, and gathering *twenty bushels* of roses yearly: Mr. Hatton undertaking to repair and make the gate-house a convenient dwelling.”\* This lease was confirmed by the Dean and Chapter of Ely; but in the following year, in consequence of some doubts of its validity, Bishop Cox granted all the above property, in fee, to the Queen herself, her heirs, and assigns, yet with a clause of resumption, either by himself or his successors, on payment of the sum of 1897*l.* 5*s.* 8*d.* which had been expended by Hatton on the premises. About nine months afterwards, viz. June the 20th, 1578, her

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\* Vide MS. case of the Bishop of Ely in Bibl. Harl.

Majesty, by her letters patent, consigned this estate to Sir Christopher Hatton, to hold of the manor of East Greenwich.

At that period, as appears from the curious Map ascribed to Ralph Aggas, the gardens, &c. of Ely House formed an irregular parallelogram, extending northward from Holborn Hill to the present Hatton Wall and Vine-street, and east and west, from Saffron Hill to nearly the present Leather-lane ; but, except a line, or rather cluster, of houses on Holborn Hill (some of which belonged to the See of Ely, and were called *Ely Rents*), the surrounding grounds were entirely open and unbuilt on.

In the reign of Charles the II<sup>nd</sup>, proceedings were instituted by Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely, for the recovery of this estate, and the Court of Requests, in 1640, decided that the Bishop had a right to redeem the premises ; but soon afterwards Wren was committed to the Tower, and the House of Commons nullified the proceedings of the above Court, and dismissed the cause. After the Restoration, Bishop Wren, who had been re-instated in his Diocese, exhibited a bill in Chancery against the then Lord Hatton, and others, for the redemption of the premises ; but no decision could be obtained either by him or his successors, until, at length, in the reign of Queen Anne, Bishop Patrick agreed to terminate this long-protracted suit, by leaving the property in the possession of the then occupants, on condition that 100*l.* *per annum* should be settled upon the See of Ely, in perpetuity.

Prynne, in his "*Histrio-Mastix*," has incidentally mentioned that the stage-play, or mystery, of "*Christ's Passion*," was acted in the reign of James the First, "at Elie House, in Holborn, when Gundomar [the Spanish Ambassador] lay there, on Good Friday at night, at which there were thousands present."\* At Ely House, also, the meetings were held of the Committee, which had been appointed for the management of the grand *Masque* exhibited by the gentlemen of the four Inns of Court, before Charles the First and Queen Henrietta-Maria, at Whitehall, on Candlemas-day, 1634.†

During the Interregnum, Ely House and its attached offices were appropriated by the ruling powers to the uses both of a prison and an hospital; and the crypt under the chapel became a kind of military canteen. Whilst thus occupied, as well as during the protracted suit for the redemption of the Hatton estate, the buildings were greatly dilapidated, and, at length, being deemed incapable of repair, the entire premises were purchased by the Crown, under the authority of an Act of Parliament, which received the royal assent in June, 1772.‡ The situation had been considered a proper one for the erection of pub-

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\* "*Histrio-Mastix*," p. 117; note. This is supposed to have been the last instance of the performance of a Religious Mystery in England.

† See the article "*Prynne's Histrio-Mastix and the Inns of Court*," in the present volume, pp. 285—290.

‡ By that Act a perpetual annuity of 200*l.* was settled on the Bishop of Ely, and 6400*l.* ordered to be paid into the

lic offices, but that design was eventually relinquished, and this estate was, in consequence, sold to the late Charles Cole, Esq. an eminent surveyor and builder. By him, all the old edifices, except the Chapel, were taken down, and the present *Ely Place* was built on the vacant ground about the year 1775. This is a uniform and handsome street, inclosed at the south end by iron gates, and from not being a thoroughfare, (unless, by permission, for foot passengers through Ely Court into Hatton Garden), forms a pleasant residence for professional gentlemen. On the west side, but standing back from the houses, is *Ely Chapel*, which, though greatly modernized, still exhibits the characteristic architecture of Richard the Second's reign: the tracery of the east window is very beautiful. The interior, which is about seventy-four feet long by thirty wide, is neatly fitted up.

In the annexed print, the Chapel and Cloisters are represented, as they appeared in 1760. Grose, in the third volume of his "Antiquities," has given views of the old Hall, Gatehouse, &c., and likewise a ground-plan of the estate and buildings in 1772. At that time, there was a plain field beyond the Chapel. and an entrance gateway from Coach and Horse

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Bank by the Lords of the Treasury; 5600l. of which was to be expended in the purchase of Clarendon, or Albemarle House, in Dover-street, Piccadilly, on the site of which a new mansion for the Bishops, to be called *Ely House*, was to be erected with the remaining sum, added to 3000l. which was due from the representatives of the late Bishop, for dilapidations.

Yard, which then bounded the northern extremity of the demesne, near Cross Street.

#### MERCERS' COMPANY AND HALL.

The MERCERS' COMPANY existed by prescription long before its regular incorporation in the year 1393, (17th of Richard II.) when the members received their first charter, and were entitled "The Wardens and Commonality of the Mystery of Mercers of the City of London," and were authorized to purchase lands, in mortmain, to the annual value of 20l. The Company was affluent at that period, and continued to flourish until the expenses of re-building their Hall and moiety of the Royal Exchange, after the Great Fire, and of an ill-concocted scheme for granting annuities to widows, obliged them to make application to Parliament, and in 1764, they were empowered "to consolidate their debts (which at that period amounted to 146,687l. 5s. 3d.) into one sum, subject to 3l. *per cent.* interest, *per annum*; to issue new bonds of 100l. or under; and to draw a Lottery in their own Hall, for the progressive payment of the said bonds, whenever there was a surplus of income of 1000l. or upwards." Since that time through the increase in the value of estates, decrease of annuitants, &c. they have discharged most their incumbrances; and the present clear value of their property is said to exceed 8000l. a year. The annual expenditure of the Company, in respect to the numerous trusts for benevolent and educational purposes, which have been vested in them, is stated

at between 3 and 4000l. In the long list of persons whose names have been enrolled in this fraternity, many Sovereigns, Princes, and Noblemen are included, together with upwards of eighty eminent citizens who have filled the office of Lord Mayor.\* The Company consists of a Prime and three other Wardens, a Court of Assistants, and a Livery, altogether forming a body of about 110 members.

*Mercers' Hall* stands on the north side of Cheapside, near its junction with the Poultry; and it is recorded, that the Mercers were settled there when their trade was first introduced into England. In former ages, their congregated dwellings were distinguished by the general appellation of the *Mercery*;

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\* It was formerly the custom, whenever any member of this Company was elected to the Civic Chair, to have in their *Inauguration* procession to Westminster, an open chariot, in which was seated a beautiful young *Virgin*, magnificently arrayed in the most splendid and elegant productions of the *orris* and *silk* manufactories, her hair flowing in artless ringlets over her neck and shoulders, and on her head a crown, apparently of gold: when the festivities of the day were at an end, she was presented with a liberal *douceur*, together with the rich attire in which she had rode. Such a spectacle formed the most attractive part of the *Show* in 1701, when Sir William Gore entered upon his mayoralty, and is said to have been of remote origin; but whether displayed in allusion to the "Blessed Virgin," the chosen patroness of the Mercers' Company, or to the "Maiden's Head," the chief constituent of their Arms, is not with certainty known. The Mercers' Arms are Gules, a demi Virgin, with her hair dishevelled, Proper, crowned Or, issuing out of an orb of clouds, Proper.



and, near the centre of that cluster, was the house of Gilbert Becket, a citizen of London, and most probably a Mercer, who was father to the celebrated Archbishop *Thomas Becket*,\* whom monkish craft and mistaken piety elevated into a martyr and saint.† Upon the very spot where Becket's dwelling had stood, and where the Archbishop was himself born in the year 1119, a *Chapel* and *Hospital* were founded within a few years after his assassination, by Thomas Fitz-Theobald de Heili, or Helles, and Agnes, his wife, who was sister to the Archbishop. This foundation was dedicated to the "Blessed Virgin," and "St. Thomas the Martyr, of Acres;" and De Heili and his wife gave to the Master and Brethren "all the londe and the appurtenances that some tyme was Gilbert Bekitte's, father of the said Thomas the

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\* There does not appear to be any good authority for the custom of inserting an *à* between the christian and surname of the Becketts, and it is therefore omitted above.

† According to traditionary lore, and probably, in this instance, founded on truth, Becket's mother was a beauteous Saracen, named Matilda, the daughter of a Pagan Prince, to whose custody Gilbert, his father, had been assigned, after having been made prisoner when travelling in the Holy Land. The legend states, that after a confinement of eighteen months, he escaped by the assistance of Matilda, who had fallen in love with him, and been converted to Christianity by his persuasions. She afterwards, urged by an unconquerable affection, deserted her family, and following Gilbert to London, was there married to him, and had *Thomas*, the Archbishop (who was called Thomas of Acon, or Acres, the ancient Ptolemais, from the presumed birth-place of his mother), and a daughter, named Agnes.

Martir, yn the which londe the said Martir was born, which londe be yn the parysh of St. Mary of Colchurch, yn London."\* On the suppression of this Hospital in the 30th of Henry VIII., its annual expenditure was stated at 277l. 3s. 4d. About three years afterwards it was granted, with other premises in the neighbourhood, under the appellation of the "College of Acon," to the Mercers' Company, through the influence of Sir Richard Gresham. Stow, who informs us, that it was again "set open on the eve of St. Michael, 1541:" further says, "it is now called the Mercers' Chapel; and therein is kept a free *Grammar School* as of olde time had been accustomed, and had been commanded by Parliament: there is also a preaching in the Italian tongue, to the Italians and others, on the Sundaies.† The *Mercers'*

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\* Vide "Rot. Parl." vol. v. p. 75.

† "Survey of London," pp. 213, 214: edit. 1598. It was in the Mercers' Chapel, that *Marc Antonia de Dominis*, Archbishop of Spalatro, whose conversion to Protestantism made so much noise in James the First's reign, preached his first Sermon, in Italian, in 1617, before the Archbishop of Canterbury, and a dignified audience; and he afterwards continued his discourses in the same place. The King gave him the Deanery of Windsor, the Mastership of the Savoy, and the rich living of West Ildestey, in Berkshire; but he afterwards returned to Italy, where, notwithstanding his relapse to the Church of Rome, he was imprisoned in the Castle of St. Angelo by Pope Urban, and died there in 1625, in the 64th year of his age, not without suspicion of poison. Some time after his death, his bones were taken up and burnt with his writings, by order of the Inquisition. There is a curious

*School* is now kept on College Hill, in Upper Thames Street. This Company has also the general management of that eminent foundation, St. Paul's School, as trustee of Dean Colet.

The present *Mercers' Hall* and *Chapel* were erected upon the site of the old Hall and Hospital soon after the Conflagration of 1666. The entrance most used is in Ironmonger Lane. The South front, in Cheapside, which, from the contiguity of dwelling houses, &c. is almost the only part of the exterior that can be seen, is very narrow; and it presents a somewhat whimsical arrangement of architectural parts and sculptural ornaments, wherein propriety of design has given place to fanciful substitutions: but the annexed print will give a clearer idea of this *façade* than can be excited by description. Above the doorway are cherubim in the act of mantling the "Virgin's Head," which is the distinguishing cognizance of this Company. At the sides of the great window, are the figures of Faith and Hope, in niches; and from a third niche over the entablature, protrudes a statue of Charity, sitting, with her three children. The *Hall* itself is supported on massive columns of the

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article on the sojourn of this Prelate, in England, in the new series of the "Retrospective Review," vol. ii. pp. 436—448. Granger says, we are indebted to him for Father Paul's excellent "History of the Council of Trent," the Manuscript of which he procured for Archbishop Abbot; and that he was the first who accounted for the phenomena of the Rainbow, in his book "*De Radiis Visus et Lucis.*"

Doric order, with their proper entablature ; the space below is open on one side, and forms a capacious piazza, at the eastern extremity of which is the *Chapel*, which is neatly pewed and wainscotted, and paved with black and white marble : divine service is regularly performed here on every Sunday from Advent to Easter.\* In the Hall, which is a lofty apartment, ascended from the piazza by a high flight of steps, are a few good portraits : this room is very handsomely wainscotted, and ornamented with Ionic pilasters, and various carvings in compartments. In the Committee Room is a fine head of *Dean Colet*, founder of St. Paul's School, and a half-length of *Sir Thomas Gresham* ; both on pannel. The mantle-piece in the *Ladies' Chamber* is enriched by festoons of flowers, fruits, &c. and finely carved.

#### MORAL SENTENCES ON THE CITY CONDUITS.

In a scarce and curious black letter duodecimo, printed in 1607, and intituled, " Strange Histories, or Songes and Sonnets, of Kings, Princes, Dukes, Lordes, Ladyes, Knights, and Gentlemen : Very pleasant either to be read or songe, & a most excellent warning for all Estats," are the following transcripts of *Moral Sentences* which 'were set vpon Conduits in London against the day that King James

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\* Many eminent persons were interred in the old Chapel, among whom were *James Butler*, Earl of Ormond, and *Joan*, his Countess, temp. Henry VIth ; *Thomas*, Earl of Ormond, ob. 1515, and nine Lord Mayors, whose deaths occurred between the years 1362 and 1587.

came through the Citie at his first coming to the Crowne.' "

*Vpon the Conduit in Grateous [Gracechurch] streete,  
were these verses :*

" Kingdomes change, worlds decay :  
But Trueth continewes till the last day.

" Let money be a slaue to thee,  
Yet keepe his seruice, if you can :  
For if thy purse no money haue,  
Thy person is but halfe a man.

*In Cornewell (Cornhill.)*

" To be wise, & wealthy too,  
Is sought of all, but found of few.

" All on this worlds Exchange do meete,  
But when deaths burse-bell rings, away ye fleete.

" When a Kinges head but akes,  
Subjects should mourne :  
For, vnder their crownes,  
A thousand cares are worne.

" Bread, earnd with honest laboring hands,  
Tastes better then the fruite of ill-got lands.

" Hee that wants bread, & yet lyes still,  
It's sinne his hungry cheekes to fill.

" As man was first framed & made out of clay,  
So must he at length depart hence away.

" A man without mercy, of mercy shall misse ;  
And he shall have mercy, that mercifull is.

*In Cheapside.*

" Life is a drop, a sparkle, a span,  
A bubble : yet how proude is man.

“ Life is a debt, which at that day  
The poorest hath enough to pay.

“ This world’s a stage, whereon to-day  
Kings & meane men parts do play.  
To-morrow others take their roomes,  
While they do fill vp graues & toomes.

“ Learning liues, & Vertue shines,  
When Follie begs, & Ignorance pines.

“ To liue well, is happinesse:  
To die well, is blessednesse.”

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF WILL. SOMMERS, KING  
HENRY THE EIGHTH’S FOOL, OR JESTER.

WILL. SOMMERS, the Buffoon, or Jester, to King Henry the Eighth, is one of the most renowned of his class, although very little is known of his actual biography. Though a reputed Fool, he was highly celebrated for his sarcastic wit and sparkling talents at repartee, and that unaccompanied by the scurrility and grossness which prophaned the conversation of his fellow jesters. But whatever were his qualifications, he is unquestionably indebted for no inconsiderable portion of his fame to the *horned* and *spectacled* caricature of his person, which, to the disgrace of decency, was so long exhibited in the Horse Armoury in the Tower.\*

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\* This was a block of wood, carved and painted to resemble life, surmounting a suit of armour, in which he is said to have attended King Henry at the Siege of Boulogne. Ram’s horns, and a pair of very large spectacles, were at-



It appears from a scarce tract, intituled "A Pleasant History of the Life and Death of *Will Somers*," &c. (which was first published in 1676, and great part of which is said to have been taken from Andrew Borde's collection of "The Merry Jests and Witty Shifts of Scoggin,"\*) that he was the son of a poor shepherd and husbandman in the neighbourhood of Eston Neston, in Northamptonshire, and that for some time he lived servant to Richard Farmor, Esq. of that place, ancestor to the Earl of Pomfret. He was afterwards constrained to proceed to London in search of employment, his master having been found guilty of a *præmunire*, and stript of all his property by Henry the Eighth, for sending eight-pence, and two shirts, to a priest who had been convicted of denying the King's supremacy, and was then in the gaol at Buckingham.

Having by his drollery and good temper obtained a place in the service of a gentleman about the court, "the fame of his vast abilities soon came to the ear of the King, who sent to see and talk with him; and so well did he comply with that unruly monarch's humour, that he presently entertained him both into his grace and living, in quality of his Jester.

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tached to the head, for the ridiculous reason, as the warders told the story, that he never would believe that his wife had cornuted him, until he had put on his spectacles to verify the fact. There is an engraving of this figure in Caulfield's "Portraits, &c. of Remarkable Persons," vol. i.

\* Vide Caulfield's "Portraits," &c. vol. i. p. 5, edit. 1813.

“ And now, who but Will Sommers, the King’s Fool? who had got such an interest in him by his quick and facetious jests, that he could have admittance into his Majesty’s chamber, and have his ear, when a great nobleman, nay, a privy counsellor, could not be suffered to speak with him: and farther, if the King were angry, or displeased with anything, if no man else durst demand the cause of his discontent, then was Will Sommers provided with one pleasant conceit or another, to take off the edge of his displeasure. Being of an easy and tractable disposition, he soon found the fashions of the court, and obtained a general love and notice of the nobility; for he was no carry-tale, nor flattering insinuator, to breed discord and dissention, but an honest, plain, downright [man], that would speak home without halting, and tell the truth of purpose to shame the Devil, —so that his plainness, mixed with a kind of facetiousness, and tartness with pleasantry, made him acceptable into the company of all men.”

There cannot, perhaps, be a greater proof of the estimation in which our Jester was held by King Henry, than the circumstance of his portrait having been twice introduced into the same piece with that of the King; once in the fine picture by Holbein of Henry VIII. and his Family, now in the meeting-room of the Society of Antiquaries, and again, in an Illuminated Psalter which was written expressly for that Sovereign, by John Mallard, his Chaplain and Secretary (“Regis Orator et Calamo”), and is now preserved in the British Museum.\*

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\* MS. REG. 2 A, xvi. According to a very ancient custom, there is prefixed to Psalm 52, “*Dixit insipiens,*” in the

Besides the above, there are two other portraits of this distinguished buffoon, by Holbein, which have much contributed to his fame. Both have been engraved: at the bottom of that executed by F. Delaram, which is a very scarce half sheet, and from which the annexed Portrait has been copied, are these lines:

“What though tho” think’t mee clad in strange attire,  
 Knowe I am suted to my own deseire;  
 And yet the Characters describ’d upon mee  
 May shewe thee that a King bestow’d them on mee.  
 This Horne I have betokens *Sommers’* game,  
 Which sportive tyme will bid thee read my name;  
 All with my Nature well agreeing too,  
 As both the Name, and Tyme, and Habit doe.”

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above Psalter, a miniature Illumination of King David and a Fool, whose figures, in this instance, are portraits of Henry VIII., and his favourite Will. Sommers. The King is seated at a kind of altar table, and playing on the Harp, whilst Sommers, who is standing near him, with his hands clasped over his breast, appears to listen with admiration. Ellis, in his “Original Letters,” 1st series, vol. i. has engraved this miniature. The King wears a round flat cap, furred, and a vest of imperial purple striped with gold, and fluted at bottom; his doublet is red, padded with white; his hose crimson: on his right leg is a blue garter. Sommers is in a vest, with a hood thrown over the back: his stockings are blue; at his girdle is a black pouch. His portrait strongly resembles that in the picture belonging to the Society of Antiquaries, in which he is represented with a monkey on his left shoulder, arrayed in a crimson-coloured jacket and hood, and confined by a string. The monkey’s paws are placed on the head of Sommers, which is somewhat reclined, as though to furnish the animal with a more secure seat.

Sommers is dressed in a long tunic, with H. R. on the breast, and he has on a flat hat, with a feather : he wears a chain ; and in his right hand is a horn : a sash or shawl, crossed behind, is pendant from his shoulders. In the back-ground, various sports and pastimes are represented. In the other picture, which is preserved at Kensington Palace, and has been engraved for Caulfield's Remarkable "Portraits," he is represented in a common dress, and wearing a round flat cap. He is shewn, in a short half-length, as looking through a leaded casement.

Many instances of the readiness of his wit, and peculiar aptness of his sarcasms are upon record ; yet the exact degree of credit that is due to the genuineness of the sayings attributed to him, is somewhat dubious. The license in which, emboldened by the King's favour, he indulged at Court, and the keenness of his remarks, is reputed to have given umbrage to Cardinal Wolsey, who, on one occasion (after Sommers had given a tart answer to a rhyme propounded by his royal master), thinking to quail his assurance, thus questioned him, " William, what say you to this rhyme ?

" A Rod in the School,  
And a Whip for a Fool,  
Are always in Season :"—

to which he instantly replied,

" A Halter and a Rope,  
For him that would be Pope,  
Against all Right and Reason."

At the smartness of this reply, the Cardinal bit his

lips from vexation, for the bruit was, that he was then "aiming to raise himself to the Papal See ;" a surmise that was soon afterwards validated by the discovery of his private correspondence with the Court of Rome.\*

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\* But a still more unpalatable jest, and one that is stated to have had a fatal influence on Wolsey's fortunes, is thus recorded in the "Pleasant History:" there does not, however, appear to have been any real foundation for this story.—"Will Sommers paying a visit to the Cardinal's fool, named Patch, was invited by him into an innermost, or private cellar, to taste some choice wine ; but having pierced one or two hogsheads, nothing came out, and yet they were very heavy. Nothing discouraged, Patch went to another, and so tried half a score. At length Will Sommers, with a hammer that lay by, struck the head off one of the hogsheads, when there appeared nothing but gold ; at which Will Sommers said nothing, but when he came to court, tells the King what a cellar of wine he had been in at the Cardinal's ; and that his [the King's] cellars yielded no such wines, nor ever would. 'How,' says the King, 'Have not I such wine in my cellar?' 'No, indeed,' said Will, 'for there is never a hogshead in the Cardinal's cellar but is worth ten thousand pound and better.' 'Mother of God,' says the King, 'that is such wine that I never heard of. Ten thousand pounds a hogshead !' 'Nay,' returned Sommers, 'rather more than less.' 'Come, sirrah,' says the King, 'tell me your meaning, for I know there is something else in it ; tell me, or I will hang thee.' Then Will told the King how Patch, the Cardinal's fool, brought him into his cellar, to drink wine, and broached two or three hogsheads, and no wine came forth : so at length he burst open the head of one of the hogsheads, and that was full of gold, and so was the next to

Warton, in his "History of English Poetry," but unfortunately without noticing the location of the work referred to, gives the following anecdote of Will. Sommers :—" I have seen an old Narrative of a Progress of King Henry the Eighth and Queen Katharine, at Newbury, in Berkshire, where Somner, who had accompanied their Majesties as Court-buffoon, fell into disgrace with the people for his impertinence, was detained, and obliged to submit to many ridiculous indignities ; but extricated himself from all his difficulties by comic expedients and the readiness of his wit. On returning to Court he gave their Majesties, who were inconsolable for his long absence, a minute account of these low adventures, with which they were infinitely entertained.—What shall we think of the manners of such a Court?"\*

From some passages in Wilson's "Arte of Rhetorike," which was published in 1553, we may gather that Sommers, who must have been personally known to the writer, had a keen shrewdness in substituting appellations of sarcastic import for those which would

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that, and forty more which he saw. Whereupon the King presently sent messengers and other officers to the Cardinal's cellars, and there finds 150 hogsheads of good gold, which was conveyed to the Exchequer, and was welcome to the King, for at that time he had great need of it. Now the Cardinal, hearing of this sad fortune, fell sick at Esher, in Surrey, and endeavours to make friends to pacify the King's anger against him, but failing in the attempt, he took it so much to heart, as to cause his death soon after."

\* "Hist. of English Poetry," vol. iii. pp. 336-7 ; note g..



naturally be used; and also, that he occasionally clothed his wit in the "folishe phantasticall" garb of "circumlocutory verbiage." An example of the former of these qualities may be seen in the following "jest."—"William Sommer seying muche adoe for accomptes makyng, and that Henry the eight wanted money, such as was due to him, 'And please your grace,' quoth he, 'you have so many *Frauditors*, so many *Conveighers*, and so many *Deceivers*, to get up your money that thei get all to themselves.'"\* In respect to his verbose phraseology, the allusion is incidental. "I know Them," says Wilson, "that thinke *Rhetoricke* to stande wholie vpon darke wordes; and he that can catche an ynkehorne terme by the tayle, hym thei compt to be a fine Englishman and a good Rhetorician: and the rather to set out this folie, I will adde here svche a letter as William Sommer himself, could not make a better for that purpose,—devised by a Lincolnshire man for a voide benefice." The letter, which is addressed to the Chancellor, thus commences:—

"Ponderying, expendyng, and reuolutyng with myself, your ingent affabilitie, and ingenious capacitie for

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\* Warton says, "Auditors, Surveyors, and Receivers:"—but Sommers, by the term *Conveighers*, had probably the further meaning of Jugglers and Pilferers, in which sense the word is used by our old dramatists. Shakspeare, in his *Richard the Second*, has this passage:

Bolingbroke. "Go, some of you, convey him to the Tower."

K. Richard. "Oh good, convey! Conveyers are you all,  
That rise thus nimble by a true King's fall."

mundane affairs, I cannot but celebrate and extoll your magnificall dexteritie above all other. For how could you have adapted suche illustrate prerogative, and dominiall superioritie, if the fecunditie of your ingenie had not been so fertile and wonderful pregnant," &c.\*

Ascham, in his "Toxophilus," which was first printed in 1554, gives the following indirect evidence of the straight-forwardness of his character and general cast of temper and disposition.

"They be not much unlike in this point to Wyll Sommer, the Kinges foole, which smiteth him that standeth alwayes before his face, be he never so worshipfull a man, and never greatlye lokes for him which lurkes behinde an other man's backe, that hurte him in deede."

In a Wardrobe Account of Henry the VIIIth's reign, which has been published in the ninth volume of the "Archæologia," are the following entries relating to the dress of Sommers. The Account in fact, is a mandatory Order from the King (dated at Wyndesore, on the 28th of June, in his 27th year, anno 1536,) for the payment of sundry charges to "John Malte,\* our Tillor," [Taylor] and several

\* "Arte of Rhetorike," B. iii. fol. 82 : edit. 1567.

† John Malte, the King's Taylor, was highly esteemed by Henry the Eighth, who entrusted him with the education and guardianship of Ethelred, his illegitimate daughter by Joanna Dyngley, alias Dobson. She was always represented as Malte's natural daughter, and the King, in the 38th of his reign, granted to John Malte and Ethelred Malte, alias Dyngley," the manors of Kelston, Bath-Easton, and Katharine Court, which had belonged to Bath Abbey, and soon afterwards were obtained in marriage with Ethelred, by John

other tradesmen : it is addressed to the “ Lorde Windsore, keper of our great Wardrobe.”

“ It’m for making of a dubblette of worstede lyned with canvas and cotton, alle of oure greate warderobe, for William Som’ar our foole. It’m for making of a coate and a cappe of grene clothe, fringed with red crule and lyned with fryse, alle of oure greate warderobe, for our saide foole. It’m for making of a dubblette of fustian lyned with cotton and canvas, alle, &c. It’m for making a coate of grene clothe, with a hoode of the same, fringed with white crule lyned with fryse and bokerham, alle, &c. It’m for making of a do [ditto] coate with a hoode of grene clothe, fringed with crule of red and white colours, and lyned with bokerham, alle of oure greate warderobe for our saide foole. To William Crofton, oure hosseyar [hosier]: It’m for two paire of hoose of blewe clothe, garded with red and blacke clothe, alle, &c. for William Som’ar oure foole.”

Our Jester is reputed to have retained the favour of Henry the Eighth to the last moment of that monarch’s life ; and in the mortal illness of the latter, to have been instrumental to the restoration to Mr. Farmor, his first master, of the undismembered parts of his estate, by some expressions which he dropped that reached the King’s conscience.

In the “ Pleasant History,” before quoted, is the following

*Epitaph on Will. Sommers.*

Stay, Traveller ; guess who lies here.—

I tell thee, neither Lord nor Peer ;

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Harington, of Stepney, as her dower. That Gentleman, by his second wife, Isabella Markham, was father to the celebrated Sir John Harington, knt., Queen Elizabeth’s god-son.

No Knight, no Gentleman of note,  
 That boasts him of his ancient coat,  
 Which Heralds curiously enblazon,  
 For Men (well-skilled therein) to gaze on:  
 Know, then, that this was no such man;  
 And I'll express him as I can.

“He that beneath this Tomb-stone lies,  
 Some call'd a Fool, some held him Wise;  
 For which who better proof can bring,  
 Than to be favour'd by a King?  
 And yet, again, we may misdoubt him,  
 A King hath always Fools about him.  
 Is he more Idiot than the rest,  
 Who in a *guarded coat* can jest?  
 Or can he Wisdom's honour gain  
 That is all *bravery*,\* and no brain?  
 Sure no such things: Wit truly bred  
 In th' *Habit* lies not, but in th' *Head*.  
 But whether he was Fool or Knave,  
 He now lies sleeping in his grave  
 Who never in his life found match,  
 Unless the Cardinal's Fool, called Patch;  
 Of whom some Courtiers, who did see  
 Them two alone, might say, *We Threes!*  
 And 't may be fear'd it is a phrase  
 That may be us'd still in these days.  
 Well, more of him what should I say?  
 Both Fools and Wise Men turn to Clay;  
 And this is all we have to trust,  
 That there's no difference in their Dust.  
 Rest quiet, then, beneath this stone,  
 To whom late Archee was a Drone.

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\* This was the old phrase for splendor of dress and ornament.

## MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTIONS ON QUEEN ELIZABETH.

ELIZABETH, whatever were her faults, was one of the most illustrious Sovereigns that ever swayed the British Sceptre. For a long period her memory was religiously cherished, and almost idolized, by the people, who could not but compare the splendid glories of her reign, with the degraded government of that vain pedant, James the First, her contemptible successor. Her picture, and *monument*, as it was called, in which she was represented lying in state, regally attired, were set up in numerous Churches, and words full of panegyric and deserved eulogium were inscribed beneath. The following, selected from Strype's Stow, are some of the best specimens of these laudatory effusions, which appeared in or near London.

*St. Andrew, Undershaft.*

Spain's Rod, Rome's Ruin,  
 Netherlands' Relief ;  
 Heaven's Gem, Earth's Joy,  
 World's Wonder, Nature's Chief !  
 Britain's Blessing, England's Splendour,  
 Religion's Nurse, the Faith's Defender.

If Royal Virtues ever crown'd a Crown,  
 If ever Mildness shin'd in Majesty ;  
 If ever Honour honour'd true Renown,  
 If ever Courage dwelt with Clemency ;  
 If ever Princess put all Princes down,  
 For Temperance, Prowess, Prudence, Equity ;—  
 This, this was She, that in despite of Death,  
 Lives still admir'd, ador'd, ELIZABETH !

*Allhallows, London Wall.*

Reade but her reign,—this Princess might have been,  
 For Wisdom call'd *Nicaulis*, Sheba's Queen.  
 Against Spain's Holofernes, *Judith* she  
 Dauntless gain'd many a glorious Victory  
 Not *Deborah* did her in Fame excel;  
 She was a Mother in our Israel.

As *Esther*, who her Person did engage,  
 To save her People from the Public's rage.  
 Chaste Patroness of true Religion:  
 In Court a Saint, in Field an Amazon.  
 Glorious in Life, deplor'd in Death,  
 She was unparallel'd ELIZABETH!

*St. Mary, Woolchurch.*

Th' admir'd Princess! through the world applauded  
 For Supreme Virtues rarest imitation;  
 Whose Sceptre's rule Fame's loud-voic'd trump hath  
     lauded,  
 Unto the Eares of every foreign Nation:  
 Canopied under powerful Angels' wings,  
 To her immortal Praise sweet Science sings.

*St. Mildred, in the Poultry.*

If pray'rs or tears of Subjects had prevail'd,  
 To save a Princess through the world esteem'd,  
 Then *Atropos* in cutting here had fail'd;  
 And had not cut her thred, but been redeem'd.

But pale-fac'd Death, and cruel churlish Fate,  
 To Prince and People brings the latest date.  
 Yet spite of Death and Fate, Fame will display  
 Her gracious Virtues, through the world, for aye.



*St. Lawrence, Jewry.*

Here lies her *Type*, who was of late  
 The prop of Belgia ; stay of France ;  
 Spain's foil ; Faith's shield ; and Queen of State,  
 Of Arms, of Learning, Fate, and Chance :—  
 In brief, of Women ne'er was seen,  
 So great a Prince, so good a Queen !

Sith Virtue her Immortal made,  
 Death, (envying all that cannot dye,)  
 Her earthy parts did so invade,  
 As in it wrack'd self Majesty :—  
 But so her spirit inspired her parts,  
 That She still lives in loyal hearts.

*St. Saviour's, Southwark.*

St. Peter's Church, at Westminster,  
 Her sacred Body doth inter ;  
 Her glorious Soul with Angels sings ;  
 Her Deeds live patterns here for Kings ;  
 Her Love in every Heart hath room ;  
 This only shadows forth her 'Tomb.

The following Epitaph on Queen Elizabeth is given in Camden's "Remains," but whether it was inscribed on any sepulchral memorial of that Princess is not stated :—

Kings, Queens, Men's judgments, Eyes,  
 See where your Mirrour lies,  
 In whom her Friends have seen  
 A King's state in a Queene ;  
 In whom her Foes survey'd  
 A Man's heart in a Maid ;

Whom, lest men for her Piety  
Should judge to have been a Deity,  
Heav'n her by Death did summon  
To prove she was a Woman.

Verses of a more ludicrous description, but equally adulatory, were written upon the removal of the corpse of this sovereign from Richmond, (where she died on the 24th of March, 1602-3) to Whitehall, by water, preparatory to her funeral ; namely :—

The Queen was brought by water to Whitehall ;  
At every stroake, the Oares did Teares let fall ;  
More clung about the Barge ; Fysh vnder water  
Wept out their Eyes of Pearle, and swom blinde after.  
I thinke the Bargemen might with easier thighes  
Have row'd her thither in her People's eyes ;  
But howsoe'er, thus much my thoughts have scann'd,  
Sh'ad come by water, had she come by land.

#### ST. PAUL'S CROSS.

Among the various appendages to the old *Cathedral of St. Paul*, the most famous for several ages was the Cross which stood in the northern part of the church-yard, and was used for various purposes, as well religious as secular and profane. Stow acknowledges that its “very antiquitie” was to him “unknowne ;” but “I reade,” he continues, “that in the yeare 1259, King Henry the Third commanded a general assembly to be made at this Crosse, where he in proper person commaunded the Mayor, that on the next day following, he should cause to be

sworne before the Aldermen, every stripling of twelve years of age, or upward, to bee true to the King and his heires, Kings of England."\* About three years afterwards, the same monarch, caused the Bull of Pope Urban the Fourth, granting absolution to himself and others, from their oaths to maintain the articles made in the Parliament of Oxford, in 1258, to be read here. From these, and other events, it would seem that the Cross was the general place for holding assemblies of the people at that early period; both for matters of political import, and ecclesiastical reference.

In the year 1299, Ralph de Baldock, then Dean of St. Paul's, *anathematized*, or cursed, at "Paul's Crosse," all those who had sacrilegiously violated the church of St. Martin in the Fields, for "an hoord of gold," &c.† In the next century, viz. May 21st, 1382, the ancient cross was destroyed by a great tempest; yet, though several Bishops of London, and in particular, William Courteney, and Robert de Braybrooke, collected considerable sums for re-building it, by offering the usual bait of indulgences to all contributors,‡ it was not re-erected till about 1449,

\* Survey of London, Edit. 1598, p. 263.

† Ibid.

‡ After the destruction, by fire, of the great spire of old St. Paul's in 1561, Dr. ———, the then Dean, preached a sermon here, in which, after mentioning the overthrow of the Cross by "The great Earthquake" in the 6th of Richard II., he strongly inveighed against the deceits practised by the prelates of that day, affirming that the Archbishop of Canterbury

when, according to Stow, it was "new builded" by the Bishop Thomas Kempe, "in form as it now standeth." That form was an hexagon Pulpit, of timber, covered with lead, elevated upon a flight of stone steps, and surmounted by a large cross ; and thus it stood till the year 1643, when, in pursuance of an order of parliament, it was demolished by the willing assistance of the Lord Mayor, Sir Isaac Pennington.

At this Cross, by order of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, the celebrated Dr. Shaw first broached the project of that usurper to ascend the throne, though with fatal consequence to his own reputation and life.\* From this Cross, likewise, the marriage contract between James the Fourth, of Scotland, and Margaret, daughter of Henry the Seventh, was publicly announced, in

enriched himself by the large sums which he gathered to rebuild the cross ; and when the people's charity grew cooler, he and the rest of the bishops granted many days of pardon, in all 320 days, to those who gave freely for that purpose, "but not *one dolkin of money*," he continued, "came out of their own purses."

\* Having "once ended," says Stow, "the Preacher gat him home, and never after durst looke out for shame, but kept him out of sight like an owle ; and when he once asked one that had beene his olde friende, what the people talked of him, all were it that his owne conscience well shewed him that they talked no good ; yet when the other answered him, that there was in every man's mouth spoken of him much shame, it so strake him to the heart, that within a few daies after he withered, and consumed away." *Howe's Stow's Annals*, p. 753.

February, 1502 ; when *Te Deum* was sung, twelve bonfires set a blazing, and twelve hogsheads of Gascoigne wine given to the populace, “ to be drunken of all men freele.” Here, likewise, the first English, or Tindal’s, translation of the bible, was publicly *burnt* by order of Bishop Stokesley ; and many are the examples of bearing the faggot, and making public recantations of their faith, of persons of both Religions, at this place ; the last who appeared was a seminary priest, who, in 1593, made his recantation. Previously to this, as appears from Holinshed’s “ Chronicles,” Sir Thomas Newman, a Priest, bore the faggot here, on the singular occasion ‘ for singing mass with good ale.’

In a manuscript in the British Museum,\* are the following particulars relating to the promulgation of the ‘ Pope’s sentence against Martin Luther,’ made on the 12th of May, 1521, at St. Paul’s Cross. “ The Lord Thomas Wolsey, by the Grace of God, *Legate de Latere*, Cardinal of St. Cecelia, and Archbishop of York, came unto St. Paul’s Church of London, with the most part of the Bishops of the Realm, where he was received with procession, and censed by Mr. Richard Pace, he then being Dean of the said Church. After which ceremony, four Doctors bare a canopy of cloth of gold over him, going to the high altar, where he made oblation. Which done, he proceeded forth as above said, to the Cross in St. Paul’s Church Yard, where was ordained a

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\* Bibl. Cott. Vitellius, B. IV.

scaffold for the same cause ; and he sitting under his cloth of estate, which was ordained for him, his two crosses on every side of him, on his right hand, (sitting on the place where he set his feet) the Pope's Ambassador, and next him the Archbishop of Canterbury, on his left hand, the Emperor's Ambassador, and next him the Bishop of Durham ; and all the other Bishops, with other noble Prelates, set on two forms. And then the Bishop of Rochester [Fisher] made a Sermon, by the consent of the whole clergy of England, by commandment of the Pope, against one Martin Elentherius, and all his works, because he erred sore, and spoke against the Holy Faith ; and denounced them accursed which kept any of his books. And there were many burned in the Churchyard, of his said books, during the sermon, which ended, my Lord Cardinal went home to dinner, with all the other Prelates."

In the year 1534, that unfortunate victim of priestcraft and intolerance, Elizabeth Barton, commonly denominated the *Holy Maid of Kent*, was with her accomplices, exposed upon a scaffold at St. Paul's Cross, whilst their confession was publicly read from it, previously to their execution at Tyburn : and in the year 1538, February the 14th, the famous Crucifix, called the *Rood of Grace*, from Boxley in Kent, was shewn openly at the Cross, by Bishop Fisher ; and the ingenious, but artful construction, by which its supposed miraculous motions had been effected were fully explained to the people ; after which it was consigned to the flames on the spot.



When the opposition of the See of Rome to his divorce from Queen Catharine, had determined the "Eighth Harry" to abrogate the Pope's authority, an order from the King in Council was issued, commanding, among other things, that from "Sonday to Sonday," such as should preach at "Paule's Crosse, should teach and declare to the people," that neither the Pope, nor any of his predecessors, were any thing more than simple *Bishops of Rome*, the paramount jurisdiction which they claimed, being only usurped and "under sufferance of Princes."\* The Bishop of London was at the same time ordered, at his peril, "to suffer none other to preach there, but such as would preach and set forth the same." From this Pulpit, likewise, the death-bed gift of the stern monarch to the City of London, of the church of the Grey Friars, St. Bartholomew's Hospital, &c. with lands to the value of 500 marks, yearly, "for the relieving of the poore people," was announced by the Bishop of Rochester, Henry Holbetch.†

On the accession of Queen Mary, the orations pronounced from the Pulpit Cross, vaccillated in favour of the ancient forms of worship, and that Princess appointed several of her best Divines to preach there in furtherance of her design to restore the supremacy of the Pope. Several tumults were the consequence, and two attempts were made, by over-zealous reformists, to assassinate the preacher in the midst of his

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\* Weever's Funeral Monuments, edit. 1631, p. 92.

† Ibid.

discourse, yet, on both occasions, the weapon was propelled with an erring aim.

The first instance occurred on the 10th day after Mary's entry into London, viz. August 13th, 1553, when Dr. Bourne, chaplain to Bishop Bonner, preaching a sermon at the Cross, uttered such slanderous insinuations against the late King Edward, that the mass of the people were highly offended, and Bourne would have fallen a victim to his temerity, but for the interference of Bradford and Rogers, two popular protestant ministers, who escorted him in safety into St. Paul's School; a dagger having been previously thrown at him with great violence, which struck "a side poste" of the pulpit. Soon afterwards both Bradford and Rogers were committed to prison; "they could repress the rage of the populace in a minute," said the Queen, "doubtless they set it on!" On the Sunday following, Dr. Watson, chaplain to Bishop Gardiner, preached here, by the Queen's command, attended by several lords of the council, and 200 halberdiers. The City Companies, also, had "been warned by the Mayor to be present in their liveries;" and other precautions were taken to prevent tumult. So little gratitude was shewn to the two ministers through whose exhortatory admonitions Dr. Bourne had been saved, and a commotion appeased which might have shaken the Queen's throne to its foundations, that they were eventually burned at the stake for heresy.

In the second instance, June 10th, 1554, "a gun

was shot," says Holinshed, at Dr. Pendleton, "the pellet whereof went verie neere him, and lit on the church wall, but the shooter could not be found." This occasioned a proclamation to be issued, forbidding the bearing of weapons, and the shooting with hand guns. It would seem that this attempt upon the preacher was in some way connected with an occurrence in which he was a principal actor, and which is thus related in Stow's "Annals."

"The same eighth of April, being then Sunday, a Cat with her head shorn, and the likeness of a vestment thrown over her, with her fore feete tied together, and a round piece of paper like a singing cake [consecrated wafer] betwixt them, was hanged on a gallows in Cheape, neere to the Crosse; which Cat being taken down, was carried to the Bishoppe of London, and he caused the same to be shewed at Paules Crosse by y<sup>e</sup> preacher, Dr. Pendleton."

On the 15th of July, in the same year, a Female about eighteen years of age, stood upon a scaffold at Paul's Cross, "all sermon time," by way of penance for an attempted imposition in counterfeiting a supernatural voice, in a house without Aldersgate, by means of "a strange whistle made for that purpose, and given to hir by one Drakes;—through the which the people of the whole citie were wonderfullie molested, for that all men might hear her voice but not see her person." This was called the "*Spirit of the Wall*." Some said "it was an Angell; some a voice from Heaven; some the Holy Ghost;" and her confederates, of whom there were "divers in the

press," took upon them to interpret the meaning of her "seditious words," which reflected on the Queen, Philip of Spain, the Mass, Confession, &c. The girl acknowledged the imposition at the Cross, and stated "that she had been moved by divers lewd persons therunto."\*

The reign of Queen Elizabeth was, in like manner to that of her bigotted sister, ushered in by the appointment of able men to preach from this Cross, but on the very opposite tenets of the Reformation, and on the rejection of all Papal authority. Dr. Bill, the Queen's almoner, commenced these discourses on the 9th of April, 1559; and was followed by Horn, Jewel, Sandys, and many others, who soon afterwards were promoted to the highest dignities of the Church. Here also, by the Royal command, a sermon of Thanksgiving was preached, after the signal discomfiture of the *Invincible Armada*. Another sermon, preached at this Cross, and set out by Command, was for the ungenerous purpose of stigmatising the memory of the unfortunate Earl of Essex, "as if," says the Earl of Clarendon, who alludes to this circumstance, "there had been some sparks of indignation in the Queen, that were unquenched even with his blood."—It is more probable, however, that on this occasion the *worthy* Cecil, and others of Elizabeth's Council, were the active agents, and not the Queen herself; whose remorse for the shedding of her favourite's blood is known to have greatly contributed to her own dissolution.

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\* Holinshed's "Chronicles," vol. iv. edit. 1810, p. 56.

The last sermon, attended by sovereign presence, at St. Paul's Cross, was that preached by Bishop King, in March, 1620, before James the First, to promote the re-building of St. Paul's Cathedral; yet religious discourses continued to be delivered here down to the time of the Civil Wars, as is apparent from the Journals of the House of Commons, under the date of September 24, 1642, when an order of parliament was made, that the Lord Mayor, and Court of Aldermen, for the time being, should thenceforth nominate and appoint, "all and every the Minister, or Ministers, that shall preach before them on the Lord's day," &c. "at Paules Church, *Paules Cross*, the Spittle, and other places;" and that all sums of money accustomed to be paid "for and towards the satisfaction of such Ministers," should be discharged as usual. Before this order the Preachers had in general been appointed by the Bishop of London.

It is evident from different prints, that the greater part of the congregation, at St. Paul's Cross, sat in the open air, but the King and his train, and most probably the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and principal citizens, had covered galleries. There appears also to have been a covered space at the side of the Church, to which the Preacher was accustomed to resort in inclement weather, called the *Shrowds*, or *Shroudes*, and thence in 1548, the venerable Hugh Latimer, the Ex-Bishop of Worcester, delivered a sermon.\*

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\* In another discourse, preached by this Bishop in Lincolnshire, in 1552, the following passage occurs:—"The citizens of Naim had their burying-place without the city, which, no doubt, is a laudable thing; and I do marvel that

The Preachers, who were occasionally called from the University, or other distant places, to lecture here, were mostly entertained from contributions and funds, under the controul of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen.† A kind of Inn, called the ‘*Shunamites’ House*,’ was kept by the appointment of the Church for the reception of such preachers: at one period they were each allowed 45s. for a sermon, with meat and convenient lodgings, fire, candle, and all necessities, during five days; but those allowances were

London, being so great a city, hath not a burial-place without: for no doubt it is an unwholesome thing to bury within the city, especially at such a time, when there be great sicknesses, and many die together. I think, verily, that many a man taketh his death in *Pauls Church Yard*, and this I speak of experience; for I myself, when I have been there on some mornings to hear the sermons, have felt such an ill-savoured unwholesome savour, that I was the worse for it a great while after, and I think no less, but it is the occasion of great sickness and disease.

† The following passage relating to the preachers at Paul’s Cross was selected from the annals of A. Wood, by the editor of the “*Oxoniana*.” It occurs under the date 1595:—

“Whereas the custom of *preaching at St. Paul’s Cross*, in London, by Oxford men, was now decayed, divers of the most eminent preachers of the University were invited thereunto, by the letters of our Chancellor and the Bishop of London; which being first read in the Convocation, and many thereupon promising to undertake that work, were afterwards entertained at *Scrope House or Place*, against St. Andrew’s Church, in Holborn, by one Thomas Martin, gent. who before, by his letters to the University, had engaged himself so to do, as long as they abode in London about that duty.



afterwards reduced to 40s. for a sermon, and five days' board and lodging at the '*Shunamites*'. The funds for their support are said to have accumulated to the then considerable sum of 1770l. besides annual rent charges to the amount of 44l. 6s. 8d.

## CRIES OF LONDON.—NEW BROOMS.

In the Comedy of "The Three Ladies of London," printed in quarto, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, anno 1584, is this passage ;—

"Enter Conscience, with broomes at her back, singing as followeth :

"New broomes, green broomes, will you buy any ?  
Come Maydens, come quickly, let me take a Peny,

"My broomes are not steeped,

But very well bound :

My broomes be not crooked,

But smooth out and round,

I wish it would please ye,

To buy of my broome ;

Then would it well ease me,

If market were done,

"Have you any olde bootes,

Or any olde shoone :

Powch-ringes or buskins,

To cope for new broome,

If so you have, Maydens,

I pray you bring hether ;

That you and I friendly,

May bargin together,

"New broomes, new broomes, will you buy any ?  
Come Maydens, come quickly, let me take a Peny."

## MISERIES OF BISHOP FISHER.

This learned, pious, and enlightened, but mistakenly-conscientious Prelate, who was beheaded on Tower Hill, the 22d of June, 1534, for his steady refusal to acknowledge the ecclesiastical supremacy of Henry the Eighth, suffered great distress, during his previous confinement, both from the want of food and clothing. In a letter to Cromwell (preserved in the British Museum\*) who was then Secretary of State, he thus states his privations, and pathetically pleads for better treatment. How far his petition was successful does not appear.

“ Fothermoor I byseche yow to be gode master un to me in my necessite ; for I have neither shirt, nor sute, nor yett other clothes, that ar necessary for me to wear, but that bee ragged, and rent so shamefully. Notwithstandyng I myght easily suffer that, if thei wold keep my body warm. But my dyett allso, God knoweth how slender it is at meny tymes. And now in myn age my sthomak may nott awaye but with a few kynd of meats, which if I want, I decaye forthwith, & fall in to coafes & diseases of my bodye, & kan not keep myself in health. And, ass our Lord knoweth, I have no thyng laft un to me for to provyde eny better, but ass my brother of his own purs layeth out for me, to his great hynderance. Wherfoor gode master secretarye saftenes I byseche yow to have sumpittie uppon me, and latt me have such thyngs ass ar necessary for me in myn age, & specially for my health. And allso that it may pleas yow by your hygh wysdom, to move the Kyng's Highness to take me

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\* Bibl. Cott. Cleopatra, E. VI. fol. 172.

un to his graciouss favor agane, & to restore me un to my liberty, owt of this cold and paynefull emprysonment; whearby ye shall bynd me to be your pore beadsman, for ever un to Allmyghty God, who ever have yow in his proteccion & custody.

Other twayne thyngs I mustt also desyer uppon yow : thatt onn is, that itt may pleas yow that I may take some preest with me in the Towr, by the assygnment of the master levetenant, to hear my confession againste this hooly tyme :

That other is, that I may borow sum bowks to styr my devocion mor effectuelly thes hooly dayes, for the comforth of my sowl. Thiss I byseche yow to grant me of your charitie. And thus our Lord send yow a mery Christenmass & a comforthable, to your hart's desyer. At the Towr the xxii. day of December.

Yor pore Beadsman,                      Jo. ROFF."

In a manuscript Letter from the late Rev. Mr. Tyson, dated Nov. 10th, 1779, it is stated that the bust of Bishop Fisher, by " Pietro Torregiano, is in the hall of Mr. Wright's House, formerly Hatfield-Peverel Priory, now modernized. This curious bust, with those of Henry VII. and Henry VIII. æt. 19, were taken out of the room over the Holbein-gate, at Whitehall, and carried to the Hatfield Priory, when the gate was taken down. They are executed in *terra cotta*."

PAGEANTRY.—NUPTUALS OF PRINCE ARTHUR AND  
THE PRINCESS KATHARINE OF SPAIN.

In November, 1501, the marriage was solemnized, in St. Paul's Cathedral, between Prince Arthur,

eldest son of Henry the Seventh, and the Princess Katharine of Arragon, daughter of Ferdinand, King of Spain ; and afterwards consort to Henry the Eighth. A most splendid variety of *Pageantry* was exhibited in the streets of the city, in honour of the nuptials, of which the ensuing particulars are given in Stow's "Annals," pp. 805-7.

" On the 12th of November, the said Lady Princess accompanied with many lordes and ladies, came riding from the archbishop's Inne of Canterbury, at Lambeth, into Southwarke, and so to London Bridge, where was ordeyned a costly pageant of Saint Katharine, and S. Vrsula, with many virgins ; from thence shee rode to Grace-streete, where was ordeyned a second pageant, from thence to the conduit in Cornehill, where was another pageant. The great conduit in Cheape ran with Gascoyne wine, and was furnished with musick. Against Soperlane end was the fourth pageant. At the standard in Cheape was ordeyned the fift pageant. At Pauls gate was the sixth pageant: by the which the princesse rode through Pauls church-yarde unto the bishop of Londons pallace, where she and hir people were lodged.

" Now within the Church of Saint Paule, to wit, from the west gate of it unto the vppermost gresse or step at the going in of the quier, was made a pase of tymber and boordes to go upon, from the said west dore unto the forenamed gresse, of the height of six foote from the ground, or more: and fore aneust the place where the commissaries court is kept within the said church, was ordeined a standing like unto a mountaine with steps on ebery side, which was couered ouer with red wusted, and in likewise was all the railles: against which mountaine vpon the north side, within the foresaid place of the commissaries court was ordeined a standing for the

king, and such other as liked him to haue: and on the south side almost for against the kings standing was ordained a scaffold, wherupon stood the maior and his brethren.

“ Then vpon the 14. of Nouember being sonday, vpon the aboue named mountaine, was prince Arthur about the age of 15. yeeres, and the lady Katharine about the age of 18. yeeres, both clad in white sattine, married by the archbishop of Caunterbury, assisted by 19. bishops and abbots mitered. And the king, the queene, and the kings mother, stood in the place afore named, where they heard and beheld the solemnization: which being finished, the said archbishop and bishops tooke their way from the mountaine, vpon the said pase couered vnder foote with blew rey-cloth vnto the quire, and so to the high altar, whom followed the spouse and spouses, the lady Cicile sister to the queene bearing hir traine: after hir followed 100. ladies and gentlewomen, in right costly apparell, then the Maior in a gowne of crimson velvet, and his brethren in scarlet, with the sword borne before the Maior, and sate in the quire the masse while; the archbishop of Yorke sate in the deanes place, and offered as cheefe, and after him the duke of Buckingham, &c. Wonderfull it was to behold the riches of apparel, worne that day, with the poisant chaines of gold: of which, two were specially noted, to wit, sir T. Brandon, knight, master of the kings horse, which that day ware a chaine valued at 1400. pound: and the other William de Riuers esquire, master of the kings haukes, whose chaine was valued at a thousand pound: many more were of 200l. 300l. and so forth, these were not noted for the length, but for the greatness of the links. Also the duke of Buckingham ware a gowne wrought of needle worke, and set upon cloth of tissue, furred with sables,



the which gowne was valued at 1500. pound. And sir Nicholas Vause knight, ware a gowne of purple veluet, pight with pecees of gold so thicke and massy, that it was valued in gold, besides the silke and furre, a thousand pound: which chaines and garments were valued by goldsmithes of best skill, and them that wrought them. The masse being finished, the princesse was led by Henry duke of Yorke, and a legate of Spaine, by the aforesaid pace into the palace, going before hir men of honor, to the number of 160. with gentlemen and other. There came vnto the Maior sir Richard Crofts steward of the princes house, which brought him and his brethren the aldermen into the great hall, and at a table upon the west side of the hall, caused them to be set to dinner, where honorably were they served with 12. dishes to a messe at the first course, 15. the second course, and 18. dishes the third course. In this hall was a cupboord of fūe stages height, being triangled, the which was set with plate valued 1200l. the which was neuer mooued at that day: and in the vtter chamber where the princesse dined, was a cupboord of gold plate, garnished with stone and pearle, valued aboue 20000. pound. The Tuesday following, the king and queene being all this season at Bainards castell, came vnto Poules, and heard there masse, and then accompanied with many nobles, went into the palace, and there dined with the princesse. This day sir Nicholas Vause ware a collar of Esses, whichweyed, as the goldsmiths that made it reported, 800 pound of nobles. And the same day at afternoone, the said princes were conveyed with manie lords and ladies unto Paules Wharffe, where the said estates took their barges, and were rowed to Westminster, upon whom the choir attended, with the aldermen, &c. in barges, garnished with banners and other devises."



## MANSION OF CICELY, DUCHESS OF YORK.

This mansion stood in the parish of St. Peter's *Parva*, Paul's Wharf, which since the Fire of London, has been united to that of St. Benedict. The only known record of its existence is preserved in the Archiepiscopal Registers of Lambeth, which state that on May the 7th, 1483, the archbishops, prelates, and nobles, who were nominated executors of Edward IV., met there to issue a commission for the care and sequestration of the royal property. It may be curious to mention that the Will, under which this assembly acted, is not now known to be extant; and it has been conjectured that it was intentionally destroyed during the usurpation of King Richard the Third, Edward's brother.

ST. ELPHEGE. — REMOVAL OF HIS BODY FROM  
ST. PAUL'S TO CANTERBURY.

St. Elphege was Archbishop of Canterbury at the period when that city was besieged by the Danes, (anno 1011) under Thorkil; who succeeded in forcing open the gates after the citizens had been drawn away to extinguish the conflagration of their houses, which had been ignited by fiery arrows. Every kind of cruelty was exercised by the barbarians on the ill-fated inhabitants, only a tenth of their number, about 800 persons, being left alive. The archbishop was treated with great ignominy, and conveyed to Greenwich, where the invaders had their head quarters, and their fleet was lying. Here he was imprisoned

nearly seven months, the Danes demanding a great sum for his ransom, which he steadily refused to pay, alleging that it would ruin the peasantry of his diocese to raise the money. In vain they threatened him with death for non-compliance; and, at length, on the 19th of April, 1012, they commanded him to be brought before their assembly, at a banquet, when flushed with wine; crying out, "Bishop! give gold, or thou shalt to-day become a public spectacle." His firmness was still unconquerable, and the Danes were so irritated, that, "starting from their seats, they attempted to kill him by striking him with the flat sides of their battle-axes, and by flinging bones and horns of oxen at him."\* But at last, by a blow on the head with an axe, given out of compassion by one Thrum, a soldier, "he was brought dead to the ground." This awakened horror in some of the party, who are said to have been Christians, at least by name, and a struggle at arms arose as to the disposal of his body; which eventually was *purchased* by the Citizens of London, and interred with great solemnity in St. Paul's Cathedral. On the spot where he was slain at Greenwich, a church was afterwards erected to his memory, on the very site of the present fabric there; which, like the ancient church, was dedicated to *St. Elphege*.

In the third volume of Suhm's "History of Denmark," from which, without referring to our own

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\* The *flinging of bones*, when seated at table, was an ancient custom among the Danes.

historians, the preceding account has been derived, are the ensuing particulars of the removal of the body of this "martyred Saint" from St. Paul's to the Cathedral at Canterbury.

In the year 1023, Canute, in pursuance of a vow which he had made during the war, caused the remains of St. Elphege to be removed from London to Canterbury, which was executed thus. He sent for Ethelnoth, the Archbishop of Canterbury, to meet him in London, where accordingly the latter appeared on the 30th of May, and was ordered by the king to repair to St. Paul's, and there await his further pleasure. Canute, who was at that time bathing, immediately left the bath, and, putting on a mantle only, and a pair of sandals, hastened to the archbishop, having in the mean time ordered his guards, (who were called in Danish, *house-carls*, the much renowned Thingmen, the whole body of whom were called Thinglith, or Thingmannalid, and which probably consisted mostly of Danes,) to take possession of the city gates, and also of the bridge, and the banks of the river, that the citizens of London might make no impediment to the removal of the Saint's body. Then entering the church, the king ordered the door to be shut, embraced the archbishop, and kissed him, saying, "Behold the day which the Lord has made, that the precious remains of Elphege may be removed from their temporary lodging, to his own archiepiscopal seat." The archbishop was struck with fear, and remonstrated with the king for not having previously signified to him his intention, that he might have come with a great retinue, and not be murdered in the midst of this populous city. Nevertheless, he conformed to the will of the king; and as it was requisite in those times that

miracles should be wrought on such an occasion, so also it then happened, for although the stone which covered the grave, had, with difficulty, been brought thither by many yokes of oxen, yet it was now removed by only two monks ; one whom, named Godric, related the circumstance to Osbern, the author of this account.

Canute looking into the grave, and discovering the body of the holy man in an entire state, exclaimed, with tears, “ Most holy father, sweet beyond all sweetness ! Most blessed father, precious beyond all the treasures of the world ! Have mercy on me, a sinner. Let not my former unworthiness, nor the cruelty of my forefathers against thee, thou righteous and good, become an obstacle to me. I confess that thou art the powerful friend of the eternal King, and I will look upon thee as my intercessor, as long as I have yet to live. Deliver me, deliver all, thyself delivered by an eternal salvation, and deign to go with us to bestow great joy on thy children ” Thus Canute spake, no doubt, more from policy than from persuasion ; however, in the course of time, he became a true Anglo-Saxon King. The speech, in other respects, shews that he was but ill instructed in Christianity, as he attributes to Elphege, what belongs only to Christ. After this, Canute himself, and the archbishop, lifted the body of Elphege out of the grave, and wrapped it in linen, which not being sufficiently large, the altar cloth of St. Paul’s, which was of Sindon,\* was torn in two and used for that purpose ; half a pound of gold being placed in lieu of it upon the altar. Then the body was carried by the monks through a narrow passage to the Thames, followed by the king and the archbishop. When they

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\* Probably a kind of fine muslin : Lagerbrick supposes it to be taffeta.

arrived at the river-side, the king jumped on board his ship, which was adorned with gilt dragon-heads, and manned with armed people, where he received the body with extended arms ; he also helped the archbishop into the ship. Then he placed himself at the helm, and steered to the opposite bank. The oars were all plied by men of eminent rank. Warriors, clad in armour, were stationed on the bridge, and along the banks of the river ; and others, by order of the king, raised a riot at the gate, to divert the attention of the citizens.

On landing, Canute himself placed the body of Elphege on a car, and having sent a strong party of armed men, to escort it, he, with the Archbishop, sat down at the end of the bridge, that the procession might gain time, as he apprehended an attack from the populace. After a little time, he dismissed Ethelnoth and returned to London, where the affairs of the kingdom required his presence, but he promised that his Queen, and his son Hardi-Canute, with all the nobility, should go to Kent, and meet the archbishop there. When Ethelnoth, accompanied by a great number of *house-carls*, came nearly up with those of the procession, the latter apprehending danger, and imagining that they were pursued by the citizens of London, sent the corpse forward, with five monks and attendants, and, dividing themselves into three bodies, took possession of the narrow passage at Plumsfield, [probably Plumstead,] determined rather to die than to yield up their Saint. Their error, however, was soon discovered, and they all proceeded to Eor-tha, [Erith], the archbishop having crosses carried before him. The whole procession stopped for the night at the small village of Eor-tha, when an immense multitude from Kent came to meet them on horseback and on foot, men and women, old and young, with hymns and



guitars, for the purpose of following the sacred body in state. When they approached Canterbury, the monks of Christ Church came to meet them, arrayed in their clerical ornaments, with bells and cymbals, with lights and torches, gospel books, and crosses mounted with diamonds, and brought the body, the music all the time playing, into the church. On the third day after, which was Whit-Sunday, the 1st of June, Queen Emma came there with all the nobility, and gave magnificent presents. A miracle was then again wrought, which was nothing less than that a dumb man recovering his speech! The anniversary of the removal of St. Elphege was for a long time after solemnized on the 8th of June, and particularly enforced by Archbishop Anselm, who died in the year 1109.

#### THE GAME OF CHESS.—LONDON PROFESSORS.

Chess is a game of remote antiquity, and generally supposed to have originated in the East. John de Vigney, in his work intituled the “Moralization of Chess,” assures us that this game was invented by a philosopher, named Xerxes, in the reign of Evil Merodach, King of Babylon, in order to reclaim that Monarch from his wickedness, by teaching him the grand lesson of his own dependence for safety upon all classes of his subjects. He then adds, “The game of Chess passed from Chaldea into Greece, and thence diffused itself over all Europe.” Other writers attribute its invention to Palamedes, the son of Nauplius, King of Eubœa, at the siege of Troy: others, again, with reference to the same period, make Dio-



medes the inventor of Chess; and another class assign that honour to the crafty Ulysses.

At what particular period this game was introduced into England is uncertain. Strutt says, "We have good reason to suppose that it was well known here at least a century prior to the Conquest, and it was then a favourite pastime with persons of the highest rank.\* In the reign of Cnut, or Canute, the Danish King, this diversion was sanctioned by the practice of Royalty; for we learn from the historian of Ramsey Abbey, that Bishop Ætheric, having obtained admission to Cnut, about urgent business, at midnight, found the monarch engaged in play with his courtiers, some at chess, some at dice.

The extraordinary fascinations of Chess, when its results and combinations are fully comprehended, and its powers of absorbing all other mental feelings, when "Greek meets Greek," in the "tug of war," have been illustrated by many remarkable anecdotes. —But the great sacrifice of time which the study of the game demands before its influence can be thus felt, presents a fearful odds against its *utility*. Disguise it how we may by arguing on the foresight, inventive genius, skill, and recondite, nay, almost mathematical calculations which the practice of chess requires, it is, at best, but a questionable good, and altogether unworthy the consideration of the wise. This inference will be better understood when it is affirmed, without fear of contradiction, that a know-

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\* Vide "Sports and Pastimes," edit. 1810, p. 273.

ledge of five or six *languages* may be acquired, by any one of moderate talents, within less time than is absolutely necessary to form a scientific player at this game !

Of late years, Chess has become a more favourite diversion of the English than in former times ; and divers treatises have been published to facilitate the study of its moves and develope the intricate combinations by which the game may be either won or drawn. In London we have even *Professors of Chess*, some of whom, at the due seasons, travel to the more fashionable watering-places, in order to extend the rudiments of their art, and teach, *philosophically*, this grand, and most ingeniously-devised, apology for positive idleness ; this superlatively-efficacious mode, as Ennui would say, of “ killing the enemy.”\*

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\* Strutt, speaking of a MS. in old French, in the Bibl. Reg. marked 13.A. xviii. (British Museum,) states that “ there are no less than forty-four different names given to games of Chess, and some of them are played more ways than one, so that in the whole they amount to fifty three ;”—But very few of them, however, are complete games, the major part being *fixed situations*, as clearly appears from the names under which they are recorded, viz. 1. The Knights’ Game,—2. The Ladies’ Game,—3. The Damsels’ Game,—4. The Game of the Al-fins,—5. The Ring,—6. The Agreement,—7. Self-confounded,—8. Ill-placed ; or Bad enough,—9. Day by Day,—10. The Foreign point,—11. The Loser wins,—12. He that gives not what he esteems, shall not take that he desires,—13. Well found,—14. Fair and small,—15. Craft surpasses strength,—16. He that is bountiful is wise,—17. Who gives, gains,—18. Subtlety and covetousness,—19. Agreement

Among the various interesting descriptions of this game, and of the strength and qualities of its respective *Pieces*, which have been written at different periods, the following, "very aptly devised" one, is probably the most curious. It was composed by Nicholas Breton, whom Meres has classed with our best Lyric Poets, and was first published in the "*Phoenix Nest*," anno 1593; the whole of which collection is reprinted in Park's "*Heliconia*." It is intituled

*The Chesse Play.*

A *secret*, many yeeres unseene,  
 In play at Chesse, who knowes the game;  
 First of the King, and then the Queene,  
 Knight, Bishop, Rooke, and so by name,  
 Of every Pawne I will descrie  
 The nature with the qualitie.

makes law,---20. He sees his game at hand who sees it at a distance,---21. Misfortunes make a man think,---22. The chace of the Knights,---23. The chace of the Queen and the Knights'---24. Very strong,---25. He is a fool if he takes,---26. The messengers,---27. Sent by his own party,---28. The old one known,---29. The high place taken,---30. *De cundut*; perhaps for conduit; that is managed, or conducted,---31. Take if you can,---32. The battle without arrangement,---33. The stolen blow,---34. The desperates,---35. The wonder,---36. A Pawn cannot make a Queen,---37. The clown's lurking-place,---38. The ladies and the damsels,---39. A fool if he trusts,---40. Bad neighbours,---41. I mate the Queen,---42. The flower of the game,---43. The battle of the rooks,---44. The double check.

*The King.*

The King himselfe is haughtie Care,  
Which overlooketh all his men ;  
And when he seeth how they fare,  
He steps among them now and then :  
Whom when his foes presume to Checke,  
His servants stand to give the necke.

*The Queen.*

The Queene is quaint and quicke Conceit,  
Which makes hir walke which way she list ;  
And rootes them up, that lie in wait,  
To worke hir treason ere she wist :  
Hir force is such against hir foes,  
That whom she meetes she overthrowes.

*The Knight.*

The Knight is knowledge how to fight  
Against his Princes' enimies ;  
He never makes his walke outright,  
But leaps and skips in wilie wise,  
To take by slight a traitrous foe,  
Might slilie seeke their overthrowe.

*The Bishop.*

The Bishop he is wittie braine,  
That chooseth crossest pathes to pace ;  
And evermore he pries, with paine,  
To see who seekes him most disgrace :  
Such straglers when he findes astraie,  
He takes them up, and throwes awaie.

*The Rookes.*

The Rookes are reason on both sides,  
Which keep the corner houses still ;  
And warily stand to watch their tides,  
By secret art to worke their will ;  
To take sometime a theefe unseene,  
Might mischief mean to King or Queen.

*The Pawnes.*

The Pawne before the King is Peace,  
Which he desires to keepe at home ;  
Practice, the Queenes, which doth not cease,  
Amid the world abroad to roame,  
To finde, and fall upon each foe,  
Whereas his mistres meanes to goe.  
Before the Knight is Perill plas't,  
Which he by skipping overgoes ;  
And yet, that Pawne can worke a cast,  
To overthrow his greatest foes.  
The Bishop's, Prudence, prieving still  
Which way to worke his masters will.  
The Rookes poore Pawnes are sillie Swaines,  
Which seldome serve except by hap ;  
And yet those Pawnes can lay their traines  
To catch a great man in a trap :  
So that I see, sometime, a groome,  
May not be spared from his roome.

*The nature of the Chesse-men.*

The King is stately, looking hie ;  
The Queene doth beare like majestie ;  
The Knight is hardie, valiant, wise ;  
The Bishop, prudent and precise :

The Rookes, no rangers out of 'raie ;  
The Pawnes, the ages in the plaie.

*L' Envoy.*

Then rule with care and quicke conceit,  
And fight with knowledge as with force ;  
To bear a braine to dash deceit,  
And worke with reason and remorse :  
Forgive a fault when yoong men plaie ;  
So give a Mate, and go your way.  
And when you plaie beware of Checke,  
Know how to save and give a necke :  
And with a Checke, beware of Mate ;  
But cheefe, 'ware ' had I wist ' too late :  
Lose not the Queene, for ten to one,  
If she be lost, the game is gone.

ANCIENT PENANCES.

" In 1383, the 7th of Richard the Second," says Stow, " the citizens of London first imprisoned such women as were taken in fornication or adultery, in the Tunn, (a prison at Cornhill), and after caused them to be brought forth in the sight of the world. They caused their heads to be shaven, after the manner of thieves, whom they named appellators, and so to be led about the city, in sight of all inhabitants, with trumpets and pipes sounding before them, that their persons might be more largely known. Neither did they spare the men."

An idea, perhaps, of the ceremonial attending this punishment, may be best obtained from the following extract from the " Proceedings of the Court of Aldermen," 1552 :—

" Novemb. 23. Item. It was this day orderyd and agryed, that Sir Thomas Sowdeley, clerk, who did not deny, but playnely confess this day in the full corte, that



he hathe kept and viciously and carnally used an harlot in his howse a long tyme, namynge her to be hys wyfe, shall to morrowe be caryed abowte the cytie in a carte, with a ray hode on his heade, a whyt rode in his hande, and bason's and pannes ringinge before hym, according to the lawes and aunciente customes of this cytie in such case made, provyded, and used."

STATE OF THE TOWER IN CHARLES THE FIRST'S  
TIME.

The following is a " Perticular of the names of the Towers and Prison lodgings in his Majesty's Tower of London, taken out of a paper of Mr. William Franklyn's, sometyme Yeoman-Warder, dated, 16th March, 1641, as followeth, viz."

*White Tower.*—The White Tower, or Cæsar's Tower, belonging to the office of the Ordnance.

*Martin Tower.*—Martin Tower, without the Byward Gate, belonging to the porter of the Mynt.

*Ro. Tower.*—The Byward or Round Tower, over the Byward Gate, al ward<sup>r</sup>s lodgings.

*Watergate Tower.*—Watergate Tower, ovr the Watergate, warders lodgings, formerly belonging to the kings fletcher.

*Cradle Tower.*—A prison lodginge in the low gardens, where the drawbridge was in former tymes.

*Well Tower.*—A prison lodging in the corner of the low gardens, next towards Iron Gate, and the Tower Gate leading to Iron Gate, a warder's lodging.

*Iron Gate Tower.*—An old ruynous place towards St. Katherins.

*Salt Tower.*—At the end of the long gallery, a prison lodgeing.

*Broad Arrow Tower*, upon the wall by the king's garden, a prison lodging.

*Constable Tower*, betwixt Capt. Coningsby and Mr. Marsh, a prison lodging.

*Martin Tower*, over against the green mount, near Mr. Sherburn's house, a prison lodging.

*Brick Tower*,—by the armory; the master of the Ord'nce lodging.

Two *London Towers*, behinde the Ord'nce office.

Office of the *Ord'nce Tower*, by the chapell.

*Beachamp Tower*, or *Cobham Tower*, betwixt the chapel and the 1<sup>st</sup> lodging, a prison lodgeing.

*Bell Tower*.—Adjoyning to the 1<sup>st</sup> house, a prison lodgeing.

*Wakefeld Tower*, or *Bluddy Tower*.—Against the Watergate, a prison lodgeing.

*Artillery Tower*, or *Recorde Tower*.—Adjoyning to the Bluddy Tower.

*Nunn's Bower*.—The prisons over Coleharbur Gate.

*Lantherne Tower*.—Parte of the king's lodgings, vnder wch is a prisoners lodgeing, wth a dore next to the lowe gardens.

#### RED-CROSS STREET, CRIPPLEGATE.

Mr. Pennant says, "This was one of the *antient* streets. In it the mitred abbot of Ramsey had his town house: it was afterwards called Drury House, from its having been in after times the residence of Sir Drue Drury." Stow, whom Pennant has misquoted, calls it *Drewrie House*, so named "of Sir Drew Drewrie, a worshipfull owner thereof," and states that it was in *Beech Lane*. The street itself took its name from a *Red Cross* which formerly stood at its northern extremity, between Barbican and Beech Lane. A deed of the thirteenth century, in an

ancient chartulary once belonging to the Nuns of Clerkenwell, recites a gift of Alan de la Welle, of a house in Old Street, "*versus rubeam Crucem*." Stow says, "on the west side of this street, up to the sayd Crosse, be many faire houses builded outward, with divers allies;—and on the east side also bee divers faire houses, up to the Crosse.

Sir Thomas More, in "The Pittiful Life of King Edward the Fifth, Lond. 1641," 12mo. p. 27, mentions a circumstance which occurred here at the close of Edward the Fourth's reign, worth relating, as it points at Richard's aspiring to the throne, at a time when it is usually supposed he had no ambition for it. —"And first to shew you, that by conjecture he pretended this thing in his brother's life, you shall understand for a truth that the same night that King Edward dyed, one called *Mistelbrooke*, long ere the day sprung, came to the house of one Pottier, dwelling in Red Crosse Street, without Cripple-Gate, of London, and when he was, with hasty rapping, quickly let in, the said *Mistelbrooke* shewed unto Pottier that king Edward was that night deceased. 'By my troth,' quoth Pottier, 'then will my master, the Duke of Gloucester, be King, and that I warrant thee.' What cause he had so to think, hard it is to say, whether hee being his servant, knew any such thing pretended, or otherwise had any inkling thereof, but of all likelihood he spake it not of ought."—It should be remarked that More has related various tales to blacken the character of Richard the Third, which have been proved to be false.

## GOLDSMITHS' COMPANY AND HALL.

This very ancient fraternity, the '*Gilda Aurifabrorum*,' was probably of foreign origin; as we learn from Madox's "*Firma Burga*," that it was fined, with fifteen other companies, as *Adulterine*, by Henry the Second, in 1180. The Guilds thus amerced appear to have been self-created during the civil contentions of the 12th century, and not incorporated by any regular charter. Among those which were fined in the above year, were the Goldsmiths, the Butchers, the Grocers, and the Curriers; the former paid the sum of forty-five marks on this occasion, and the richer Guilds in proportion; but on most of the others the fine was set at one mark only.

Although instituted in such a remote age, this Company was not regularly incorporated until the year 1327, when Edward the Third, in consideration of the sum of ten marks, granted the members his Letters Patent, under the title of '*The Wardens and Commonalty of the Mystery of Goldsmiths*,' &c. with power to purchase estates to the value of 20l. annually, for the support of their indigent and superannuated brethren. This grant was confirmed by Richard the Second, in 1392, on the further payment of twenty marks; and the charter of that Sovereign may be considered as the foundation of the Company's present rights, the grant of Edw. III. having hardly been acted on. A further confirmation was granted in 1462, by Edward the Fourth, who also constituted this Company '*a body politic*,' &c. By

the last grant also, they were invested with the privileges of inspecting, trying, and regulating all gold and silver wares, not only within the City, but also in all other parts of the Kingdom; with the power of punishing all offenders in working adulterated gold and silver. This appears to have been an extension of a statute made in the twenty-third of Edward the First, which empowered the Warden to "assay gold and silver manufactures;" which "shall be of good and true alloy, and be marked." Other charters have been granted by several different Sovereigns; and the privileges of the Company have since been confirmed under various Acts of Parliament.

Fabian, under the fifty-third year of Henry the Third, anno 1269, gives the following relation of a violent affray between the Goldsmiths' and Taylors' Companies. "In this liii. yere in ye moneth of November fyll a varyaunce atwene the felysshypes of *Goldsmhythes* and *Taylloures* of London, whiche grewe to makynge of parties, so that with the Goldsmythes take partie the felysshep or craft of ———, and with the Taylloures held ye craft of Stayners;\* by meane of this moche people nyghtly gaderyd in the stretes in harneys, and at length, as it were prouyded, the thirde nyght of the sayd parties mette vpon the nombre of V.C. men on both sydes, and ran togyder, with such vyolence that some were

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\* 'Cordewayners' MS. of Fabian's "Chronicles," in the British Museum.



slayne, and many wōded. Then outcry was made, so that ye shyreffes, with strengthe of other cōmors, came to the ryddynge of theym, and of theym toke certayne personēs, and sent theym vnto dyvers prysons : and upon the morrowe, such serche was made, yt the moste of the chief causers of that fray were taken and put in warde.—Then vpon the Fryday followynge saynt Katteryns daye, sessyons were kepte at Newgate by the Mayre and Lawrence de Broke iustice and other : where xxx. of the sayd personēs were arregned of felony, and xiii. of theym caste and hanged : and for one Godfrey de Beuyrley holpe to arme one of the sayde personēs, he was also caste amonge the others.”\* This contention between the Companies lasted many years, nor was it finally terminated till several persons of each party were expelled from the city.

*Goldsmiths' Hall* is an extensive and handsome pile, standing in Foster Lane, on the site of a more ancient Hall, which had been founded for the use of the Company in 1407, by Sir Drew Barentyne, Lord Mayor in 1398. That edifice, which Stow calls “a proper house, but not large,” was destroyed in the Great Fire, and the present fabric arose in its place within a few years afterwards. The buildings are of brick, and surround a square court, paved : the front is ornamented with stone corners wrought in rustic, and a large arched entrance, which exhibits a high pediment, supported on Doric columns, and open at

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\* Fab. Chron. p. 364, Ellis's Edit. 1811.



the top, to give room for a shield of the Company's arms.\* The *Hall* itself, which is on the east side of the court, is a spacious and lofty apartment, paved with black and white marble, and most elegantly fitted up. The wainscoting is very handsome, and the ceiling and its appendages are richly stuccoed ; an enormous flower adorning the centre, and the City and Goldsmiths' arms, with various decorations, appearing in its other compartments. A richly carved screen, with composite pillars, pilasters, &c. a balustrade with vases, terminating in branches for lights, (between which are displayed the banners and flags used on public occasions,) and a buffet of considerable size, with white and gold ornaments, form part of the embellishments of this splendid room. The balustrade of the stair-case is elegantly carved, and the walls exhibit numerous reliefs of scrolls, flowers, and instruments of music. The *Court Room* is another richly wainscotted apartment, and the ceiling is loaded with embellishments, which give it a grand, though somewhat heavy effect. The chimney-piece is of statuary marble, and very sumptuous ; the sides

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\* The Goldsmiths' arms, are quarterly, gules and azure, in the first and fourth, a leopard's head, or ; in the second and third, a covered cup, between two buckles, all of the last : crest, a demi Goldsmith, in the dress of Elizabeth's reign, his right hand sustaining a pair of scales, his left hand holding an ingot : supporters, unicorns : motto, " To God only be all Glory." The arms are ancient : the crest and supporters were granted by Robert Cooke, Clarencieux, in 1571.

being adorned with male caryatides, and the whole enriched by scrolls, grapes, &c. Above, is a painting of St. Dunstan, the Patron saint of the Company, in conversation with the Holy Virgin, having in the back ground a representation of the Saint burning the Devil's nose, as described in the ancient legend, when assailed by the fiend with temptation. Here, also, are the following portraits : *Sir Martin Bowes*, Goldsmith, Lord Mayor in 1545, said to be by Holbein ; this gentleman presented his Company with an elegant Cup, (still carefully preserved among their plate,) which is thought to have been originally a Royal gift. *Sir Hugh Myddleton, Bart.* the illustrious character, who expended his entire fortune in forwarding the noble design of supplying the Metropolis with water, by means of the New River, a share of which he bequeathed to this Company, for the benefit of its decayed members. This is a fine picture, in the style of Vandyke. *Sir Hugh* is portrayed in a black habit, with his hand resting upon a shell : near him the words '*Fontes Fodinæ*' are inscribed. *Sir Thomas Vyner*, Goldsmith, Lord Mayor in 1653 ; and *Charles Hosier, Esq.* In the *Ball Room*, which is a large apartment, very handsomely decorated, is a portrait of his late Majesty, *George the Third*. In another apartment is a large picture by Hudson, containing likenesses of six Lord Mayors, all Goldsmiths, namely, *Sir Henry Marshall*, Lord Mayor in 1745 ; *William Benn, Esq.* 1747 ; *John Blachford, Esq.* 1750 ; *Robert Alsop, Esq.* 1752 ; *Edmund Ironside, Esq.* and *Sir Thomas Raw-*

*linson*, both in 1754, the former having died during his Mayoralty: these gentlemen are represented seated at a table, at which Blachford presides. The *Assay Office*, belonging to the Goldsmiths' Company, adjoins to the Hall on the south side, the front entrance being in Carey Lane. Every article of Gold and silver of standard quality must be stamped by their mark.

This affluent community is governed by a Prime, and three other Wardens, and a numerous Court of Assistants. Its revenues are very considerable; and its disbursements, for charitable purposes, amount to about 1500*l.* annually; which is principally expended in the support of *Alms-houses* and *Free-schools*. Before the business of *Banking* became a regular trade, about the middle of the seventeenth century, and also for many years afterwards, the *Goldsmiths* were the chief Bankers, their general opulence occasioning them to be regarded as the most trustworthy of the numerous classes of tradesmen which inhabited the City.

ACTING IN CHURCH YARDS, ON SUNDAYS AND  
HOLYDAYS.

Customs, which we should now deem irreligious and profane, were long after the Reformation prevalent in this City, and the practice of them was attended with but very little scandal until the cant and severity of the Puritans rendered those things "unholy," which at most, were only thoughtless and indiscreet. But the gloomy sourness of their creed made them reprehend every kind of festive

diversion, with as much zeal as though it had been a crime to laugh, and themselves had been commissioned ambassadors from the Throne of Grace to denounce vengeance against the exercise of the risible faculties. Like the "*Evangelical*" misanthropes of modern days, they reversed the doctrine of our Saviour, who taught that the "Sabbath was made for Man, and not man for the sabbath;" and imbued by the acrimony of their own crabbedness, took no delight except in "vinegar aspects," and sanctimonious phraseology, in which assumed godliness was blended with hypocrisy, and "saving grace," instead of "Charity," made the cloak and cover of a "multitude of sins."

That the rank corruptions of the Romish Church, its degrading superstitions, and ignoble dependence upon Canons and Councils, rather than upon the Word of God, required a strong hand to oppose, and a determined spirit to overcome, is most true; but *Puritanism*, (for the spirit still exists, although disguised, and under a different name,) instead of rooting out the weeds alone, would destroy both the wheat and the tares together.

Among the customs alluded to, at the head of these remarks, was that of *acting* Interludes in Church-yards on Sundays; of the rise, or origin, of which, we have no account. We may, however, very rationally conjecture that it sprang from the performance of those religious *Mysteries* and *Moralities* which were allowed by our Catholic ancestors to be played, not only within the precincts of their sa-

cred edifices, but even in the very churches ; and the subjects of their pieces were sometimes of that nature, that the term impious would not have been too strong to designate them by, had the *intention* been disregarded. Here then, reformation was wanting, as well as in many other circumstances connected with the state of our early Drama ; but to make *remediable* abuses an argument for suppressing the stage altogether, as was twice effected, (once, for a short period in Elizabeth's reign, and again in the time of the Commonwealth) is neither reason nor common sense, but prejudice and bigotry.

One of the first oppugners of the stage was Rankin, who, in his "Mirror of Monsters," published in 1587, has this passage :—

"Then Folly, that stretcheth forth her wings to shadow the senses of the besotted, to the intent that their swollen eyes should not beholde theyre deformed myndes, chose out pathes, erected places, and built skaffoldes in Κοιλοφισαρ, for his darlinges to behold these daintie devices."

Without entering further into the general argument, it will be seen from the following extracts from the parish books of *St. Katharine Cree*, (or Christ Church) Aldgate, that Rankin's censure was not entirely without cause.

Anno 1565. "Receyved of Hugh Grymes, for lycens geven to certen players, to playe their enterludes in the churche-yarde, from the feaste of Easter, An. D'ni 1565, untyll the feaste of Seynt Mychall Th'archangell next comynge, every holy daye, to the use of the Parryshe, the some of 27s. 8d.



“ Receyved of Rycharde Dyckenson for lycens geven to hym to make scaffoldes in the churche-yarde, and the paryshe to have the thyrde penny, bearynge no charge for that he dothe receyve of the persons that dothe stande upon the scaffold, for 3 holy dayes in the Easter-week, 1565: to the use of ye paryshe, 6s. 8d.

“ Receyved more of Richard Dykenson, for Lowe Sunday, after Easter daye, 1565 ; and for Maye daye followinge, and the Sunday after, beynge the syxt of Maye, for the thyrde peny for those persons that stode upon the scaffold within the churche-yarde: to the use of the paryshe, the some of xis. viiid.

“ Receyved of Richard Dykenson, for 6 Sundays and iii holy dayes, reckonyng the thirteen daye of Maye, A. D. 1565, and endyng the 18th daye of June, and iii holy dayes, Asencon daye, and ii holy dayes in Whytson weeke ; of the wch, three of these dayes, the players did not pay for the thyrde peny of the persons that stode upon the scaffold in the church-yd: to the use of the parishe, 5s.”

As a corollary to the above extracts, it may be here stated, that in the year 1574, partly in consequence of the plague, which was then extending its ravages through London, and partly from the disorders which had arisen from the uncontrouled performance of stage-plays in Inn yards, &c. the Common Council subjected the players to such severe restrictions that the latter petitioned the Queen and Privy Council for greater license ; but without effect, as the continuance of the plague rendered it necessary to subject them to yet greater restraints, and they were enjoined “ not to play on Sundays, nor on Holi-



days, till after evening prayers ; nor yet to play in the dark ; nor so late but that their auditors might return to their houses before sun-set, or at least before the darkness set in."

PRYNNE'S HISTRIO-MASTIX, AND THE INNS OF COURT.

The celebrated WILLIAM PRYNNE, who has been ludicrously, though not unaptly, characterized as "one of the greatest paper worms that ever crept into a library," was a man of a zealous and determined, but yet truly *conscientious* spirit ; as the successive persecutions which he suffered, both from the court and the parliament, clearly demonstrate. In modern times it has been too much the fashion to undervalue his merits, and ascribe his conduct, during one of the most tempestuous periods of our history, to a factious mind, and a proud, venomous dislike of existing establishments ; but from the historian and the antiquary he deserves better treatment, however it may suit the advocates of corrupt power to maintain a contrary opinion.

In 1632, Prynne, (who was born at Swainswick, near Bath, in the year 1600, and after an university education, studied the common law, at Lincoln's Inn, where he successively became a barrister, bencher, and reader,) published his HISTRIO-MASTIX, in which, with all the bitterness of fanatical controversy, he condemned dramatic representations, and strenuously inveighed against the appearance of females on the stage. For this offence, and more particularly from a passage in the Index, printed thus, "*Women Actors,*

*Notorious Whores*," he was committed to the Tower; Archbishop Laud and some other Prelates whom he had "angered" by his writings against Arminianism and Episcopacy, having construed it to reflect upon the Queen, who had acted a part in a Pastoral, at Somerset House, about "*Six weeks after*" the objectionable words were published! Notwithstanding this, Prynne was kept in prison upwards of a year, and then prosecuted in that focus of despotism the Court of Star-chamber; by the verdict of which he was fined 5000*l.* to the king, expelled from the University of Oxford and Lincoln's-Inn, disabled from following his profession of the law, condemned to stand twice in the pillory, to lose his ears, and to be imprisoned for life. This cruel and unjust sentence was rigorously executed, so long as the arbitrary government of that period retained its power; but at the latter end of the year 1640, he was released by the House of Commons from his confinement at Mount Orgueil Castle, in the Isle of Jersey; and on the 28th of November, he returned to the capital in triumph, in company with Burton, (who had also been similarly released from St. Mary's Castle, in Sicily); thousands of their friends "with rosemary and bays in their hats," going out "to meet them, and hail their return."

Whilst their "learned brother" was yet but recently condemned, viz. on Candlemas-day, 1634, the members of the four INNS OF COURT, "to manifest their opinion of Prynne's new learning, and serve to confute his *Histrio-Mastix*, against Inter-

ludes," entertained their Majesties with a splendid and expensive '*Masque*;' the airs, lessons, and songs of which were composed by the celebrated Lawes, and the music was so performed, that, according to Whitelocke, to whom "the whole care and charge" of this part of the pageant was entrusted, "it excelled any music that ever before that time had been held in England;" The theatre for the display of this exhibition, was the Banquetting House, at Whitehall, to which the masquers and their company went in gorgeous procession from Ely House, in Holborn.

At the head of the Cavalcade, "marched twenty footmen in scarlet liveries, with silver lace," each having a sword, a baton, and a torch; these were the Marshals-men who cleared the streets:—the Marshall himself was Mr. Darrel, of Lincoln's Inn, afterwards knighted by the king, an extraordinary handsome proper gentleman, mounted upon one of the king's best horses, and richest saddles, and his own habit was exceeding rich and glorious." After him followed about a dozen trumpeters, preceding one hundred gentlemen of the Inns of Court, the most proper and handsome of their respective societies, gallantly mounted on the best horses, and with the best furniture that the king's stable, and the stables of all the noblemen in town, would afford," and all of them richly habited, and attended by pages, and lacquies bearing torches. "After the horsemen came the *Anti-Masquers*;" the first of which being "of *Cripples and Beggars on horseback*, mounted on the poorest leanest jades that could be gotten, had their music of

keys and tongues, [tongs] and the like, snapping, and yet playing in a concert before them." Next came, "men on horseback, playing upon pipes, whistles, and instruments sounding notes like those of birds of all sorts, and in excellent concert, followed by the Anti-Masque of *Birds*:" this was, "an owl in an ivy-bush, with many several sorts of other birds in a clustre about the owl." Then came "other musicians, on horseback, playing upon bag-pipes, horn-pipes, and such kind of northern music, speaking the following Anti-Masque of *Projectors*, to be of the Scotch and northern quarters." Foremost in "this Anti-Masque rode a fellow on a little horse, with a great bit in his mouth, signifying a Projector, who "begged a patent that none in the kingdom should ride their horses but with such bits as they should buy of him." Then came a fellow with a bunch of carrots upon his head, and a capon upon his fist, describing a Projector," who "wanted a monopoly for the invention of fattening capons with carrots." Other Projectors were, "in like manner, personated in this Anti-Masque, and it pleased the spectators the more, because by it an information was covertly given to the King of the unfitnesss and ridiculousness of those projects; and the Attorney Noy, who had most knowledge of them, had a great hand in this Anti-Masque of the Projectors." Other Anti-Masques succeeded, and then came "six of the chief musicians, on horseback, habited as heathen priests, and followed by an open chariot, containing about twelve persons, representing Gods and Goddesses. Other

musicians came next, both on horseback and in a chariot, playing upon excellent and loud music all the way." After them came the chariots of the *Grand Masquers*; "themselves proper and beautiful young gentlemen," most splendidly habited in "doublets, trunk-hose, and caps, of most rich cloth of tissue, thick studded with silver spangles, with sprigs in their caps, and large white silk stockings up to their trunk-hose." These chariots were built in the form of the "triumphant cars of the Romans," and were "carved and painted with exquisite art;" and drawn by four horses abreast, richly caparisoned. Each of them contained four persons, chosen from the different Inns of Court, attended by footmen carrying large flambeaux, "which, with the torches, gave such a lustre to the paintings and spangles, and habits, that hardly any thing could be invented to appear more glorious." The number of spectators was immense, and the Banquetting House "was so crowded with fine ladies, glittering with their rich clothes and fairer jewels, and with lords and gentlemen of great quality, that there was scarce room for the King and Queen to enter." Their majesties, who stood at a window to see "the Masque come by," were so "delighted with the noble beauty of it," that they "sent to the Marshall to desire that the whole show might fetch a turn about the Tilt-Yard," that they might see it a second time. The Masquers then alighted at Whitehall Gate, and were conducted to their assigned places.

The "Masque," says Whitelocke, was "*incom-*



*parably* performed in the dancing, speeches, music, and scenes;—none failed in their parts, and the scenes were most curious and costly.” The Queen joined in the dance, with “some of the masquers, and the great ladies of the court were very free and civil, in dancing with all” of them. These “sports” continued till “it was almost morning,” when their Majesties having retired, the “Masquers and Inns of Court gentlemen were brought to a stately banquet, and after that was dispersed, every one retired to their own quarters.” The splendour and expense of this spectacle, appear to have exceeded every thing of the kind that had ever before been exhibited in this country: the charges, which were borne by the Inns of Court, and their individual members, were alone reckoned to amount to upwards of 21,000*l*. The Queen was so “taken with this Show and Masque, that she desired to see it acted over again; whereupon an intimation being given to the Lord Mayor of London, he invited the King and Queen, and the Inns of Court Masquers, to the city, and entertained them with all state and magnificence, at Merchant Taylors’ Hall, and at no less charges.” The Masquers afterwards received the particular thanks of their Majesties; and, “thus,” concludes Whitelocke, from whose curious detail this account is derived, “these dreams past, and these pomps vanished.”\*

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\* Whitelocke’s “Memorials,” pp. 18—21. The management of this curious spectacle was directed by a Committee of eight persons, two for each Inn, viz. “for the Middle



## SKINNERS' COMPANY AND HALL.

The *Skinners' Company* was incorporated by Edward the Third, in the year 1327, by the appellation of "The Master and Wardens of the Guild or Fraternity of the Body of Christ, of the Skinners of London." At that period, the Skinners, who had long formed a very affluent and respectable class of citizens, were divided into two brotherhoods, one at St. Mary Spital, the other at St. Mary Bethlehem; but Richard the Second, in his eighteenth year, consolidated the two bodies, and Henry the Sixth, in 1438, confirmed their former grants, and directed that every person, when admitted to the freedom of the Company, should in future be presented to the Lord Mayor; this custom is still observed.\* Stow

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Temple, Mr. Edward Hyde and Mr. Whitelocke; for the Inner Temple, Sir Edward Herbert and Mr. Selden; for Lincoln's Inn, Mr. Attorney [General] Noy, and Mr. Gerling; and for Gray's Inn, Sir John Finch, and Mr. ———." *Ibid.*

\* In the times of Catholic superstition, it was customary for the Company of Skinners to make a procession through the principal streets of the City on Corpus Christi day, in the afternoon, "wherein," says Stow, "were borne more than one hundred torches of waxe (costly garnished) burning light, and above two hundred Clerkes, and Priests in surplices and coapes, singing:" after which came the Sheriffs' servants, the Clerks of the Compters, Chaplains for the Sheriffs, the Mayor's Serjeants, the Council of the City, the Mayor and Aldermen in scarlet, and the Skinners in their best liveries. "Thus much," adds our author, "to stop the tongues of vnthankfull men, such as vse to aske, 'Why have ye not noted this, or that,' and give no thanks for what is done."—*Stow's Survey, edit. 1618, p. 248.*

mentions six Kings who were enrolled among the brethren of this fraternity.

The Skinners' Company was particularly flourishing when sables, lucerns, and other rich furs were accustomed to be worn by the Monarchs, Nobility, and Gentry of England; but as commerce extended in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, other garments came into use, and the trade declined. Henry Lane, a correspondent of Hackluit, the collector of Voyages, in a Letter written in 1567, remarks, that it was "a great pity but it [the wearing of furs] should be renewed; especially in Courts and among Magistrates, not only for the restoring of an old worshipful Art and Company, but also because they are for our climate wholesome, delicate, grave, and comely, expressing dignity, comforting age, and of long continuance; and better with small cost to be preserved than those new silks, shags, and rags, wherein a great part of the wealth of the land is now hastily consumed."

The fur trade still continuing to decline, and particularly after the incorporation of the Eastland Merchants in 1579, who purchased skins from pedlars and others for the purpose of exportation, a controversy arose between those Merchants and the Skinners' Company, and the latter in consequence petitioned Queen Elizabeth, "that no pedlars or petty chapmen might gather or engross any skins or furs of the breed of England, but under licence of the Justices of the Peace; that those who were thus licensed should not make sale of any such skins or

furs so gathered by them, except to some persons known to be of the trade of Skinners; and that all others might be restrained to buy and transport them." This petition was opposed by the Eastland Company, who, on the other hand, required, "to have free licence to buy, provide, and engross, in any place whatsoever, all manner of coney-skins, raw, or *tawed*, [that is, prepared as white leather, by artizans hence called *tawers*] and at their pleasure to transport them in any bottom whatsoever, unto any place, yielding the ordinary custom." The claims of the Skinners' Company were also powerfully resisted by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, who in the height of the dispute wrote a letter to the Lord Treasurer, urging, "that this practice of the Skinners, that all the skins of the breed of England must first pass through the hands and property of some freeman of that Company, before they should be transported, would be to the exceeding great prejudice, not only of the City, but of all other traders into foreign ports within the whole Realm;" they therefore prayed, that the intended new Patent to the Skinners, which was then nearly ready to be signed by the Queen, "might be stayed, till such time as he should be better informed, touching the great inconvenience which would grow thereby, and for which purpose they had appointed a deputation of Aldermen and others to attend upon him."

Through this application, the petition of the Skinners' Company was rendered ineffectual, and the fur trade got into fresh channels, as commercial rights

were extended, and became better understood. These results lowered the influence of the Company, as a trading society, though in all other respects it is still one of the most respectable and affluent belonging to the City. It is governed by a Master, four Wardens, and a court of about 60 assistants; whose disbursements, for the support of schools, alms-houses, exhibitions, lectures, &c. amount to about 1000*l.* per annum.

The original Skinners' Hall, which Stow describes as "a very fayre house, sometime called Copped Hall," was purchased by the Company, together with several small tenements adjacent, as early as the reign of Henry the Third, and the Skinners afterwards held it under a licence of mortmain granted by that King. It was afterwards alienated, though by what means is uncertain; and in the nineteenth of Edward the Second, was possessed by Ralph de Cobham, the brave Kentish warrior, who having made Edward the Third his heir, was thus the cause of the Skinners being reinstated in their ancient possession, which the latter monarch restored about the time of the legal incorporation of the Company.

The present *Skinners' Hall* is a very handsome and convenient structure, standing on Dowgate Hill, on the site of the ancient building. The front, which includes the dwelling of the Clerk, &c. was new built about twenty years ago, from designs by the late Mr. Jupp, architect, who also made considerable alterations in the other parts. It is a regular build-

ing of the Ionic order. The basement part, to the level of the first story, is of stone, and rusticated; from this rise six pilasters, sustaining an entablature and pediment, all of the same material, and in the tympanum are the Company's arms, and supporters,\* the latter being represented as couchant, in order to adopt them the better to the spaces they occupy: the frieze is ornamented with festoons, and lions' heads. A small paved court separates this front from the more ancient part of the fabric, which is of brick and neatly wrought. The staircase displays some of the massy carving, and rich ornaments, in vogue at the time of its rebuilding after the Great Fire, the expense of which is said to have been 18,000*l*. The *Hall* is a light and elegant apartment, having an Ionic screen, and other adornments proper to that order; it is also handsomely fitted up in the modern style. In the *Court Room*, which was formerly wainscotted with the red, or 'odoriferous,' cedar, but is now altered, and neatly modernized, is a good head of *Sir Andrew Judde*, Knt. Lord Mayor in 1550, who was a native of Tunbridge, in Kent, and founded the celebrated free Grammar School there, of which the late very able and learned Dr. Vicesimus Knox was a recent master. For the sup-

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\* The Skinners' arms are ermine, on a chief, gules, three crowns, or, with caps, of the first: crest, a leopard sejant; supporters, on the dexter side, a leopard; on the sinister, a fox; motto "To God only be all Glory." The arms are ancient; the crest and supporters were granted by William Harvey, Clarencieux, in 1561.



port of that establishment Sir Andrew, on his death in 1558, directed by his Will, that certain lands, of the annual value of 56*l.* 0*s.* 4*d.*, situated in the parishes of St. Pancras, All-Hallows Gracechurch Street, St. Lawrence Pountney, St. Peter, and St. Helen, should be perpetually vested in the Company of Skinners. In consequence of this bequest, the members visit the School every year, in May, at a great expense, attended, as the statutes direct, by some eminent Clergyman, whose business is to examine into the progress made by the different classes ; after the examination, which is conducted with much ceremony, honorary rewards are distributed to the best scholars. The rental of the lands bequeathed by the founder, as well as of other estates given by his son-in-law, Sir Thomas Smith, Knt. to augment the endowments, and establish six exhibitions to the University, has been vastly increased, and is yet in a course of progressive augmentation ; the land in St. Pancras parish, between the Bedford and Foundling estates and the new road, Somers Town, having been recently covered with respectable houses, under the direction, and principally at the charge of Mr. Burton, the architect, who, a few years ago, obtained a lease of the ground from the Company, for the purpose.

Before the erection of the Mansion House, several Lord Mayors kept their Mayoralty at Skinners' Hall ; and the general courts of the new East India Company were also held there previously to the union of the two Companies in 1720.



SPIRITUAL GOVERNMENT OF LONDON, AND OFFICERS  
OF THE DIOCESS.

The origin of the *Ecclesiastical Government* of London, is involved in an almost similar degree of obscurity to that of the city itself; but without regarding either the story of the Arch-Flamins, whom the visionary Geoffrey of Monmouth has seated at London, York, and Caerleon, or the legendary tale of King Lucius and his conversion to Christianity about the middle of the second century, there seems reason to believe that this City was subjected to episcopal authority, previously to the year 326; “for I read,” says Stow, “in the first Tome of the Councels, of a Bishop of London to bee present at the second Councell, holden at Arles, in the time of Constantine the Great, who subscribed thereunto in these words, *Ex Provincia Britannicæ Civitate Londinensi Restitutus Episcopus*. The names of fifteen other bishops have been recorded, also, by Joceline of Furness, as presiding over this see between the time of Lucius and the coming of St. Augustin, yet no dependence can be placed on the accuracy of the list; and whatever might be the fact as to the early prevalence of Christianity in this diocess, it had certainly been afterwards supplanted by the Pagan worship of the Saxons.

After the conversion of the Kentish Saxons under Ethelbert, by St. Augustin, “the Apostle of the English,” in the latter part of the 6th century, that prelate constituted *Melitus*, one of the chosen band who had accompanied him from Rome, Bishop of

London, in 604 ; about six years after which King Ethelbert founded the *Cathedral of St. Paul* ; and his nephew Sebert, who reigned over the East Saxons, founded the *West-minster*, now Westminster Abbey, in the year 616. Sebert's kingdom, which included the counties of Middlesex and Essex, and part of Hertfordshire, was commensurate with the extent of the present diocess ; which, generally speaking, is exempted from all Archiepiscopal visitation. There are, however, thirteen parishes within the city, which are the *peculiars* of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and in consequence not amenable to the Bishops of London. Including Melitus, this see has been governed by 106 bishops since the time of St. Augustin, many of whom were men of great learning, talents, and piety.

In the government of this diocess, the Bishop is assisted by a Dean ; a Precentor, or Chanter ; a Chancellor ; a Treasurer ; five Arch-deacons ; thirty Canons, or Prebendaries ; twelve Minor, or Petty Canons ; six Vicars-Choral ; a Sub-Dean ; and other subordinate officers. The arch-deaconries are those of London, Middlesex, Essex, Colchester, and St. Alban's. In the order of precedence the Bishop of London ranks next after the two Archbishops of Canterbury and York ; and in some ancient statutes he is styled *Primus Baro Regni*, the ecclesiastical barons taking precedency of the temporal barons.

In common with all the Bishops of the Realm, the Bishop of London has the power of holding a court in his own diocess, for the trial and punishment of

spiritual offences, in which he may either sit as judge himself, or depute his power to a chancellor, suffragan, or other officer. The Bishops' courts, therefore, though held by the king's authority, are not properly to be accounted the king's courts, since none of the judges possess this privilege; neither are suits from them issued in the name of the king, but of the bishop.

The following particulars of the duties of the bishop's officers, with the names of the prebends, and other information, are derived from the first volume of Newcourt's "*Repertorium*."

The *Dean* is to assist the Bishop in ordinations, deprivations, and other affairs of the church, and on the King's writ of *congé d'elire*; the Dean and Prebendaries elect the Bishop; but this election is now mere matter of form, since the person recommended by the King is always chosen. The Dean is also elected by the Chapter, on letters missive from the King, whose assent must be obtained before the Bishop can confirm, and give power to install him.

The *Precentor*, or *Chanter's* office, is to superintend the church music. Under him is a Sub-Chanter, who officiates in his absence. The second stall on the north side of the choir, belongs to this officer, who is proprietor, and perpetual rector of the church of Stortford, and patron of the vicarage.

The *Chancellor* was anciently called *Magister Scholarum*, from having had the charge of literature within the city of London, whereby he was empowered to licence all the Schoolmasters in the city, except those of St. Mary-le-Bow, and St. Martin-le-Grand; but he is now only

Secretary to the Chapter ; he has the third stall on the north side of the choir.

The *Treasurer* has the custody of the valuables belonging to the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, for the faithful keeping of which he is sworn before the Dean and Chapter ; he has the third stall on the south side of the choir. Under him is the *Sacrist*, who is also sworn to the faithful discharge of his office, three *Vergers*, and the inferior servants of the church.

The office of the *Archdeacons* is to visit the several cures within their respective Archdeaconries, and to enquire into the reparations and movements belonging to them ; to reform slight abuses in ecclesiastical matters, and to bring affairs of moment before the Bishop. It is also the duty of the Archdeacons to induct clerks into their benefices upon the bishop's mandate.

The thirty *Canons*, or *Prebendaries*, with the Bishop, compose the Chapter, by which the affairs of the church are managed. All the Prebendaries are in the collation of the Bishop ; and out of them there are always appointed three *Residentiaries*, besides the Dean ; so called from their continual residence in the church.

The names of the Prebends follow.

*Bromesbury*, or *Brandesbury*, in the parish of Willesdon, in Middlesex ; *Brownswood*, or *Brownsward*, in the same parish ; *Cadington major*, in the manor of Cadington, in the county of Bedford, now called the manor of Aston-bury, with a further revenue from certain houses in St. Paul's Church-yard ; *Cadington minor*, in the parish of Cadington, Bedfordshire ; *Chamberlain-wood*, in the parish of Willesdon, Middlesex ; *Chiswick*, in the parish of Chiswick, Middlesex ; *Consumpt. per Mare*, (or in Waltone) in the parish of Wal-

ton, in le Soker, Essex, about three miles north of the Gunfleet upon the sea coast ; this Prebend was so called from having been swallowed up by the sea before the conquest ; *Ealand*, or *Eldeland*, in Tillingham, near Dengy, in the deanery and hundred of Dengy, and county of Essex ; *Eald-street*, or *Old-street*, in the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, Middlesex ; *Horleston*, in the parish of Willesdon, Middlesex, with an additional revenue from some houses in St. Paul's Church-yard ; *Holbourne*, in the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn, in the suburbs of London ; *Holywell*, alias *Finsbury*, in the manor of Finsbury, situate in the several parishes of St. Giles, Cripplegate ; and St. Leonard, Shoreditch ; *Hoxton*, in the parish of St. Leonard, Shoreditch, or within the limits thereof ; *Isledon*, or *Islington*, in the parish of Islington, Middlesex ; *Kentish-town*, in the parish of St. Pancras, Middlesex ; *Mapesbury*, or *Maplebury*, in the parish of Willesdon, Middlesex ; or *Mera*, or *Mere*, *extra London*, in the parish of St. Giles, without Cripplegate ; *Nelsdon*, or *Neasdon*, in the parish of Willesdon, Middlesex ; *Newington*, or *Newington Canoniarum*, in the parish of Stoke Newington, Middlesex ; *Oxgate*, in the parish of Willesdon, Middlesex ; *St. Pancras*, in Middlesex, near London ; the Prebendary of St. Pancras was originally the Bishop of London's confessor, and to this day, whoever is Prebendary of St. Pancras, is admitted with the office of Confessor and Penitentiary thereunto annexed ; *Portpool*, or *Pourtepol*, *extra London*, in and about Portpool Lane, and Gray's-Inn Lane, in the parish of St. Andrew, Holborn ; *Reculver-land*, in the parish of Tillingham, in Essex ; *Rugmore*, in the parish of St. Pancras, Middlesex ; *Sneating*, in the parish of Kirkeby, in Essex ; *Tottenham*, or *Tottenham-court*, in the parish of St. Pancras, Middlesex ; *Twy-*



*ford*, called *East Twyford*, in the parish of Willesdon, Middlesex; *Wenlakes-barn*, or *Wellakesbury*, in the parish of St. Giles; *Wildland*, in the parish of Tillingham, Essex: and *Willesdon*, or *Willesdon-green*, in the parish of Willesdon, Middlesex.

The twelve *Petty Canons*, are usually chosen out of the ministers and officers belonging to the church. They were constituted a body politic and corporate, by letters patent of Richard the Second, dated 1399, under the denomination of "the College of the twelve petty Canons of St. Paul's." They are governed by a Warden, chosen from among themselves, and have the privilege of a common seal. One of the petty Canons is appointed *Sub-Dean*, by the Dean, with the consent of the Chapter and minor Canons. His office is to supply the Dean's place in the choir; two others are denominated *Cardinals* of the choir, to which office they are elected by the Dean and Chapter, and are to superintend the duty of the choir.

Among the manuscripts bequeathed by the late Dr. Rawlinson to the University of Oxford, are two ancient leaves on vellum, a fragment of great curiosity, containing a part of the survey of the Deanery of St. Paul's, in the year 1181, called the Domesday of Ralph de Diceto. But the manors and churches to which it relates are principally those at a distance from London.

#### LONDON PRICES OF POULTRY IN 1575.

Sir James Hawes, during his mayoralty in the above year, on April the 4th, fixed the following prices for the sale of Poultry within the city.



*Prices to be observed by Shop-keepers.*

	s.	d.
The best Capon, large and fat . . . .	1	8
Ditto, second best, being fat . . . .	1	4
The best green Goose until Whitsuntide . .	0	8
Ditto, after Whitsuntide . . . .	0	10
Ditto, in Winter, being fat . . . .	1	2
Pigeons, per dozen . . . .	1	4
Chickens, the largest, each . . . .	0	4
Ditto, second sort . . . .	0	3
The best Coney [Rabbit] from and after the Summer . . . .	0	5
Ditto, second best . . . .	0	4
Cygnets, fat, until Alhallowentide, each . .	6	0
Ditto, from Alhallowentide to Shrovetide . .	7	0
Cranes, the best, each . . . .	6	0
The best Heron, Pheasant, Shovelard, [Duck] and Bittern, each . . . .	2	6
Turkey-cock, fat and large . . . .	3	0
Turkey-chicken, large and fat . . . .	1	4
Woodcocks, each . . . .	0	6
Snipes, each . . . .	0	2½
Hens, being fat, the best, each . . . .	0	9
Ditto, second sort . . . .	0	7
Green Plovers, fat, each . . . .	0	4
Grey Plovers, fat, the best . . . .	0	3
The best wild Mallard . . . .	0	6
Teals, each . . . .	0	3
Widgeons, each . . . .		

Larks, the best, per dozen, from Bartholomewtide until Alhallowentide	s.	d.
	0	5
Ditto, from Alhallowentide to Shrovetide	0	8
Blackbirds, per dozen	0	10
The best Partridge	0	10
Eggs, four	0	1

*Prices to be observed in the Market.*

The best Coney, from Midsummer to Shrovetide	0	4
Ditto, second best, ditto	0	3
Larks, per dozen	0	6
Woodcocks, each	0	5
Chickens, large, each	0	4
Capons, fat, each	1	2
Pigeons, per dozen	1	0
The best Goose, being fat	1	0
Eggs, five	0	1

